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LALA HAR DAYAL

Lala Har Dayal (October 4, 1884, Delhi, India - March 4, 1939, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania) was an Indian revolutionary and founder of the Ghadar Party.

EARLY YEARS

He was the sixth of seven children of Bhoti and Gauri Dayal Mathur, Reader of the District Court. Dayal is not so much a surname as a sub-caste designation, within the Kayastha caste of writers. At the age of 17 he married Sundra. Their son, born two years later, died in infancy, but their daughter, born in 1908, survived.

At an early age he was influenced by Arya Samaj. He associated with Shyamji Krishnavarma, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar and Bhikaiji Cama. He also drew inspiration from Giuseppe Mazzini, Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin. He was, according to Emily Brown as quoted by Juergensmeyer, "in sequence an atheist, a revolutionary, a Buddhist, and a pacifist".

He studied at the Cambridge Mission School and received his bachelor's degree in Sanskrit from St. Stephen's College, Delhi, India and his master's degree also in Sanskrit from Punjab University. In 1905, he received scholarships to Oxford University studying Sanskrit. In a letter to The Indian Sociologist, published in 1907, he started to explore anarchist ideas, arguing that "our object is not to reform government, but to reform it away, leaving, if necessary only nominal traces of its existence." The letter led to him being put under surveillance by the police. Later that year, saying "To Hell with the ICS", he resigned his Oxford scholarships

and returned to India to live a life of austerity. It was during this period that he became friends with the anarchist Guy Aldred, who was put on trial for printing The Indian Sociologist.

He moved to Paris in 1909 and became editor of the Vande Mataram. Unhappy in Paris, he visited Algeria where he wondered whether to go to Cuba or Japan. He then went to Martinique where he was visited by the Arya Samaj missionary, Bhai Parmanand with whom he discussed founding a new religion modelled on Buddha. He was living an ascetic life eating only boiled grain, sleeping on the floor and meditating in a secluded place. Guy Aldred later related that this religion's motto was to be Atheism, Cosmopolitanism and moral law. Emily Brown and Erik Erikson have described this as a crisis of "ego-identity" for him. Parmanand says he agreed to go to the United States to propagate the ancient culture of the Aryan Race.

Hardayal went straight from Boston to California, where he wrote an idyllic account of life in the United States. He then moved on to Honolulu in Hawaii where he spent some time meditating on Waikiki Beach. During his stay he made friends with Japanese Buddhists and started studying the works of Karl Marx. Whilst here he wrote Some Phases of Contemporary Thought in India subsequently published in Modern Review. Parmanand persuaded him by letter to return to California.

ANARCHIST ACTIVISM IN AMERICA

He moved to the United States in 1911, where he became involved in industrial unionism. He had served as secretary of the San Francisco branch of the Industrial Workers of the World alongside the National Bolshevik, Fritz Wolffheim. In a statement outlining the principles of the Fraternity of the Red Flag he said they proposed "The establishment of Communism, and the abolition of private property in land and capital through industrial organisation and the General Strike, ultimate abolition of the coercive organisation of Government". A little over a year later, this group had been given six acres of land and a house in Oakland, where he founded the Bakunin Institute of California which he described as "the first monastery of anarchism". The organisation aligned itself with the Regeneracion movement founded by the exiled Mexicans Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon. He had a post as a lecturer in philosophy at Stanford University. However, he was forced to resign because of embarrassment about his activities in the anarchist movement.

He had developed contacts with Indian American farmers in Stockton. Having adopted an Indian Nationalist perspective, he wanted to encourage young Indian men to gain a scientific and sociological education. With Teja Singh, Taraknath Das and Arthur Pope and funding from Jwala Singh, a rich farmer from Stockton, he set up Guru Gobind Singh scholarships for Indian students. As with Shyamji Krishnavarma's India House in London, he established his house as a home for these students. Amongst the six students who responded to the offer were Nand Singh Sihra, Darisi Chenchiah and Gobind Behari Lal, his wife's cousin. They lived together in a rented apartment close to the University of California, Berkeley.

THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON VICEROY OF INDIA

At the time, he was still a vigorous anarchist propagandist and had very little to do with the nationalist Nalanda Club, composed of Indian students. However Basanta Kumar Biswas's attempt on the life of the Indian Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, on December 23, 1912 had a major impact upon him. He visited the Nalanda Club hostel to tell them news at dinner time finishing his talk with a couplet from the Urdu poet Mir Taqi Mir:

Pagri apni Sambaliyega Mir

Aur basti nahin, yeh Dilli hai

Take Care of your Turban Mir

This is not just any town, this is Delhi.

The hostel then became a party with dancing and the singing of Vande Mataram. Hardayal excitedly told his anarchist friends of what one of his men had done in India.

He quickly brought out a pamphlet called the Jugantar Circular in which he eulogised about the bombing:

"Hail! Hail! Hail! Bomb of 23 December 1912 ... Harbinger of hope and courage, dear reawakener of slumbering souls ...

concentrated moral dynamite ... the esperanto of revolution."' He established the Gadar Party in the U.S. and published a journal Ghadar in 6 languages from USA. Millions of copies of the journal were distributed in India and to Indians around the world. Copies of the journal were concealed in parcels of foreign cloth sent to Delhi.

In April 1914, he was arrested by the United States government for spreading anarchist literature and fled to Berlin, Germany. He subsequently lived for a decade in Sweden. He received his PhD in 1930 from the University of London. In 1932, he published Hints of Self Culture and embarked on a lecture circuit covering Europe, India, and the United States.

He died in Philadelphia in 1939. On the evening of his death he had given a lecture where he had said "I am Peace with all".

In 1987, the India Department of Posts issued a commemorative stamp in his honor, within the series "India's Struggle for Freedom".

GHADR MOVEMENT

Many Sikhs and Hindu Punjabis who tasted freeddom outside colonial India in USA started Ghadr movement to free India from British rule in early 1900's. These Sikhs and Punjabi Hindus were sent to Canada which was under British rule for labour work. They crossed the border over to USA and settled in Western Coast of USA in cities like Portland, San Francisco, San Jose and Los Angeles. These Punjabis created Gurdwaras and established societies. They were subject to draconian laws like "not allowed to marry to american woman" by many of these states at that time. The word Ghadr can be commonly translated as mutiny, was the name given to the newspaper edited and published for the Hindustani Association of the Pacific Coast which was founded at Portland, United States of America, in 1912. The movement this Association gave rise to for revolutionary activities in India also came to be known by the designation of Ghadr.

It is said that by 1908 about 5000 Indians had entered Canada. 99% of which were Punjabis and 90% Sikhs. Many Indians were also sudying at various universities all over USA. Americans and few Indians established Indo-American National Association.

Many students from prominent universities like Berkeley University, Stanford and Harvard joined this association. Lala Hardayal of Stanford University, Sant Teja Singh of Harvard University, and Bhai Parmanand decided to get more students belonging to the poor families for Higher education in the USA and Canada.

Indians who went to the United States and Canada came from rural farming middle class and labour, a large number of among them being ex-servicemen. In the beginning, the Indians went to San Francisco and Stockton in California, Portland and St. John in Oregon and Washington states and to Vancouver and and Victoria in British Columbia n Canada. Such persons as Amar Singh and Gopal Singh who had gone to America in 1905, and Tarak Nath Das and Ram Nath Puri who followed them, starting preaching against the British rule in India.

They also started a paper called Azadi ka circular in Urdu. This paper was distributed among the armed forces in India to rouse them against the British. Result was that Canadian government which was under British rule started harassing them. White labour was encouraged to harass foreign labour, while Chinese and Japanese government protested against these atrocities against their nationals, Indian goverment did nothing. The Canadian government further tightened the entry of Indians into Canada. It passed a legislation that newcomers would not be permitted to land on the Canadian soil "unless they came from the country of their birth or citizenship by a continuous journey, and on through tickets purchased before leaving the country of their birth or citizenship. They were also required to possess $200 against the previously fixed sum of $25.

In order to fight the unjust immigration laws, the Indians (mostly Sikhs) organized Khalsa Diwan Society in Vancouver in 1907 with branches in Victoria, Abbotsford, New Westminster, Fraser Hill, Duncan Coombs and Ocean falls. The Sikhs built a Gurdwara at Vancouver which was inaugrated in January 1908. In 1909 only 6 Indians were allowed to visit Canada. Same year Indian immigrants organized Hindustan Association under the presidentship of Bhai Bhag Singh Bhikkivind. Its objectives were to establish Indian rule in India, provision of safeguards from loot

by foreigners, etc. The association started two newspapers, Pardesi Khalsa in Punjabi and Svedesh Sevak in Urdu. These activities awakened the Indian immigrants. Persons like Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna, Harnam Singh Tundilat, Udham Singh Kasel, Rakha Ram, Ishar Singh Marhana and others would collect on sundays and other holidays and ponder over the problems. St John and Seattle become center of their activities.

In 1912, at Portland Hindustani Association of Pacific coast was formed with Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna as its president and GD kumar as the general secretary, later Mr Kumar fell ill and his place was taken by Lala Hardyal. Aim of the party was explained as "Today, there begins in foreign lands.. a war agaist British raj.. What is your name? Ghadr. What is your work? Ghadr. Where will Ghadr break out? in India. The time will soon come when rifles and blood will take the place of pen and ink." In simple words, their aim was to get rid of the British raj in India through an armed rebellion.

The first issue of the Ghadr, in Urdu, came out in November 1913 and that in Punjabi a weeks later. The paper was distributed to politico- Indian centres in United States, Canada, Phillipines, Fiji, Sumatra, Japan, Shanghai,Hong Kong, Hankow, Java, Singapore, Malaya Siam, Burma, India and East Afria . Occasionally Ghadr published the following advertisement:

Wanted: Enthusiastic and heroic soldiers for

organizing Ghadr in Hindustan:

Renumeration: Death

Reward : Martyrdom

Pension : Freedom

Field of work : Hindustan.

The Ghadr party president often visited the Indian groups to exhort them to join freedom movement. Lala Hardyal general secretary was arrested on the pretext of a speech delievered by him three years earlier. Baba Sohna Singh now became the general secretary, Bhai Santokh Singh became President, editing of paper was taken over by Bhai Harnam singh of Kotla Naudh singh. The party's plan was to invade Kashmir from China, then go for the

Punjab followed by other provinces. The members started getting training in the use of weapons and making of bombs; several got training in flying aircraft also. One of them, Harnam singh, had his hand blown off while in process of bomb making, and he was thence onwrds known as Tundilat, the armless knight.

The party carried out considerable propaganda in Japan where Maulawi Barkat Ullah was professor in Tokyo University. His prescence attracted many muslims to Ghadr Party. The Kamagatu Maru incident added fuel to fire. The first world war broke out in July 1914. On 5 August, leading memers of Ghadr party declared war on the British and decided to take advantage of the involvement of British in the war. The Ghadr party declared war on the British and decided to come to India to carry out armed revolution against the British.

Baba Sohan Singh Bhakna and his companions left for India on 22 August 1914, the first ship with 26 Indians left Vancouver; on 29 August, another ship with 60-70 Indians left San Francisco for India. According to government records, 2312 Indian Ghadr men had entered India between 13 October 1914 and 25 February 1915. Their influx continued till 1916 when their number increased to more than 8,000. But it is likely that the Ghadr men had entered India in greater numbers than the government knew. Government was very active and at least 50% of them were arrested or confined to their villages by state governments.

The Ghadr party established a new press and published small pamphlets such as: Ghadr Sandesh, Ailan-i-Jang, Tilak, Nadar Mauqa, Rikab~gan;, Canada da Duhhra, Naujavan Utho, Sachchz Pukar, and so on. These pamphlets were published in Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi, and were distributed among the public and the soldiers. The party also produced their own flag having red, yellow and green colours. Dr Mathura Singh supervised factories producing armaments.

The party members contacted students. They contacted soldiers stationed especially at Mian Mir (Lahore), Jalandhar, Firozpur, Peshawar, Jehlum, Rawalpindl, Mardan, Kohat, Bannu, Ambala, Meerut, Kanpur and Agra cantonments. The soldiers were generally in sympathy with the movement. Many party workers joined the army with a view to obtaining arms and ammunition.

Contacts were also established with Bengal revolutionaries such as Rash Behari Bose whose close companions were Sachin Sanyal and Vishnu Ganesh Pingle. Pingle acted as a link between the Ghadr party and Bengalis.

The movement faced financial difficulties in India. The expenses had increased owing to opening of various branches, travelling, purchase of arms and ammunition and publications. Money was not easily available as it was in foreign countries. To overcome this difficulty, the party had to resort to forcible acquisition of funds by under-taking political dacoities.

All the preparations completed, the party executive met on 12 February 1915, and decided to start the rebellion on 21 February. Their plan was simultaneously to attack and capture Mian Mir and Firozpur cantonments; 128th Pioneer and 12 Cavalry were to capture Meerut Cantonment and then proceed to Delhi. Units in cantonments in northern 21 India were expected to join the rebellion.

The British Government had intelligence men posted at railway stations in cities and in important villages. The lambardars, zaildars and other village functionaries were also alerted to provide information. The government had managed to plant informers in the Ghadr party itself. Before the new leadership came forward and reorganized the movement's plans, the British Government "knew much more about their designs and was in a better position to cope with them." In spite of this, the Ghadrites in the central Punjab murdered policemen and informers and attempted to derail trains and blow up bridges. Factories for preparing bombs were established. All this made the government feel that they were "living over a mine full of explosives . "

When the party learnt that the information about the D-Day had leaked, they advanced the date of rebellion to 19 February, but this information also reached the police through their informer, Kirpal. The police raided the party headquarters at four different places in Lahore and arrested 13 of the "most dangerous revolutionaries." All cantonments were alerted and the Indian troops placed under vigilance; some were even disarmed. Arrests of Ghadr men took place all over the Punjab. Rash Behari Bose, with the help of Kartar Singh Sarabha, escaped from lahore to

Varanasi: Vishnu Ganesh Pingle was arrested at Meerut on 23 March 1915. All the leaders were put in the lahore jail.

The government of the Punjab sought and the Government of India passed under the Defence of India Act wide powers to the Punjab Government who formed a special tribunal of three judges, including one Indian, to try the Ghadr men in the Central Jail, Lahore. Thus the rebellion was smashed by the government before it had really taken shape.

The Ghadr men were tried by the Special Tribunal in what are known as Lahore conspiracy cases in batches. The trial of the first batch began on 26 April 1915. In all, 291 persons were tried and sentenced as under: death for 42, 114 were transported for life, 93 awarded varying terms of imprisonment, 42 were acquitted. Confiscation of property was ordered in the case of many. No one appealed against the punishments. Those who were hanged included Kartar Singh Sarabha, Jagat Singh (Sursingh) Vishnu Ganesh Pingle, Harnam Singh Sialkoti, Bakshish Singh (son of Ishar Singh), Bhai Balvant Singh (Khurdpur), Babu Ram, Harnam Singh, Hafiz Abdulla and Rur Singh (Sanghval).

Under the circumstances, the army units which had promised to join the revolution kept quiet. However, some units such as 26 Punjabi, 7 Rajput, 12 Cavalry, 23 Cavalry, 128 Pioneers, Malaya State Guides,23 Mountain Battery, 24Jat Artillery, 15 Cancers, 22 Mountain Battery,130 Baluch and 21 Punjabi did come out in the open. About 700 men of 5 Light Infantry, located in Singapore, mutineed on 15 February and took possession of the fort. The rebellion was subdued by the British troops; 126 men were tried by court martial which sentenced 37 to death, 41 to transportation for life, and the remy ing to varying terms of imprisonment Soldiers from other units were punished as under:

Death Transportation

23 Cavalry

12 Cavalry

130 Baluch

128 Pioneers

1 for life

The party workers also went to Iran and Iraq to instigate Indian troops against the British, and to Turkey to exhort Indian prisoners to fight for India's freedom. In Iran, the party was able to raise an Indian Independence Army. The Army advanced towards Baluchistan, and en route capttlred Kirmanshah. Then they advanced along the coast towards Karachl. Meanwhile, Turkey was defeated and the British had occupied Baghdad. The Indian Independence Army thus losing its base was also defeated.

The Ghadr party contacted Germany, Turkey, Afghanistan, China and other countries, but not much help came from any of these. Germany sympathized with the Ghadr party and occasionally tried to render some help in the form of weapons and money, but these often failed to reach the party. For instance, 5,000 revolvers on board Heny S. which sailed from Manila were captured en route by the British. Germany had also formed an Oriental Bureau for translating and disseminating inflammatory literature to the Indian prisoners of war in Germany.

During World War I, revolutionaries from most countries had gone to Switzerland, which was a neutral country. The Indians there formed Indian Revolutionary Society, also known as Berlin-India Committee. The Society had formed a provisional government at Kabul, but had no contacts with the Indian public. The Ghadr party established links with the Society and both agreed to help each other. Germany sent financial help to the Society but, on learning that it was being misappropriated, discontinued it. The Society soon collapsed. No sum ever reached the Ghadr party. The Ghadr movement, as says O 'Dwyer, "was by far the most serious attempt to subvert British rule in India." Most of the workers were illiterate-only 25 of them knew Urdu or Punjabi. Still they organized a strong movement which for the time being thrilled the country and made the British panic. Although the movement was suppressed, it provided nucleus for the Akali movement that followed a few years later. The Ghadr leaders were especially prominent among the Babar Akalis.

THE GADAR MOVEMENT: HOW IT GAINED MOMENTUM IN THE USA

The Gadar Party derived its name from the weekly newspaper called the Gadar which had been started as the voice of Hindi

Association of the Pacific Coast. The association was formed in April 1913 in Astoia, Oregon, where a large number of Indian workers, mostly Punjabis, toiled in lumber mills under racist conditions. Baba Sohan Singh Bakhna became its founder president, Lala Hardayal was elected its secretary and Pandit Kanshi Ram became its treasurer. (Pandit Kanshi Ram was later sentenced to death and hanged alongwith eight other gadarites in the infamour Ferozeshahr murder case. Baba Bakhna was sentenced to death but his sentence was later 'commuted' to transportation for life -- Kala Pani -- in the so-called Lahore Conspiracy Case. In the same case, Kartar Singh Sarabha, Vishnu Ganesh Pingle and five other gadarites were sentenced to death and hanged.)

The latent discontent, the surging anger against the British, and the will to change their condition in the racist milieu, got focussed on one idea: to get freedom for the country whatever the sacrifice. Only people from a free country, it was felt, could live in dignity and fight for their rights in alien lands. This became a credo with the Indian immigrants who toiled hard in lumber mills in the states of Washington and Oregon and on the farms in California. They were paid far less than the wages paid to white workers for similar work.

These people had come all the way from Punjab, and elsewhere, leaving their home and hearth, also their loved ones, for a dignified livelihood. Now, ir demeaning status, in comparison with white workers, as also the arbitrary racist immigration laws that prevented them from bringing their families to stay with them, turned them into an incendiary human stuff ready to change this state of affairs.

The situation was so desperate for India immigrants that the inner fury against the British came to the fore the moment the idea of their mobilization was mooted. Nearly everyone, everywhere, who had come from India, rallied round the idea of freedom for the country. Several students from India those days were getting education at the University of California at Berkeley; they were mostly from Bengal and Punjab. They were potential revolutionaries who needed a mass base. When the turbulence amongst the Indian workers came to their notice they flocked to work with them at once. Kartar Singh Sarabha and Vishnu Ganesh

Pingle were the most prominent. Lala Har Dayal had landed in the United States in 1911. The well-known Arya Samaj protagonist Parmanand (Lahore) was also in California those days.

Besides, the unabated struggle of Punjabi immigrants to have a foothold in the neighboring British Coulmbia (Canada) culminating into the foced return of Komagata Maru with 376 Punjabi passengers on July 24, 1914 after more than sixty days of day-and-night struggle in Vancouver, mainly due to racist reasons, was enough for every India immigrant to cry: GADAR, FREEDOM AND JUSTICE. As the idea of justice, equality and freedom smote their conciousness, all of them became natural and determined soldiers for the cause which was simultaneously taking form in the minds of countless Indian students getting education in Berkeley.

How the tide was turned and countless Indian workers became gadarites in a short time can be understoodfrom Baba Sohan Singh Bakhna's account of those days: "The standard of living of the American worker was higher than that of immigrant workers. They would decline to work on low wages. Besides, they got unemployment allowance. But the Asian workers, mostly from Japan, China, India, Turkey and Ruissia were hard-pressed and had to work on low wages during recession. The American workers got convinced that the immigrants were responsible for their sorry plight. They attacked the Indian workers at night and beat them after looting their belongings.

This happened five to six times. Once, Indian workers were forcibly loaded into streetcars, driven to the wilderness of the forest and left there. The victims approached the English counseller for redressal of the grevance but to no avail. One such attack was organized by the American workers against the Japanese workers. The latter complained to their government which took such a serious cognizance of the situation that the American government has to pay compensation and assure the Japanese of protection in the future. It dawned upon us Indians that since we were slaves in our own homeland nobody cared for us, and there could be no redressal to the situation unless we became free as a people."

Baba Bakhna states further: "Besides these attacks, there was an atmosphere of great hostility towards Indians. In trams, restaurants and other such places, the Indians were scorned at. Once Professor Teja Singh (Sant Teja Singh Mastana) came to see me from Canada. I took him to the city of Portland. As we entered an American restaurant for lunch we were told there was no room for us. We took our food in a Japanese restaurant."

Yet another instance quoted by Baba Bakhna is revealing. He writes: "Once our mill stopped working. I and one of my friends went to another mill to ask for work. As we entered the office of the superintendent he offered us chairs with respect and said: "There's a lot of work but not for you." Then he blurted quickly, "Instead, I feel like shooting you down with a gun." We protested: "Why, man, what's our crime?" He asked: "What's the population of your country?" On hearing that it was 30 crore, he asked: "Are these 30 crore sheep or human beings? If you 30 crore Indians were really human beings how would you have become docile and lived like slave? I'll give you both a gun; first go back to your country and get it free. After achieving freedom when you come to America I will be the first to welcome you."

As these workers got awakened to their rights the British India government felt alarmed. On pressure from both British and Indian governments arbitrary restrictions on Indian workers' entry into Canada and the USA were placed. Such steps were provocations enough for them to think, act and mobilize.

Several incidents ignited Indian workers in the USA to be aglow with the desire to throw the British out of their own country. Forty percent of them had served in the army at different places, some in Hong Kong, Malaya, Shanghai and Singapore. The situation led to holding of regular meetings at different mills on Sundays. With political awakening and discussions, mobilization was taking place spontaneously. Baba Bhakna and Pandit Kanshi Ram, because of their age, maturity, strength of character and organizational ability, became natural leaders of the workers in Portland (Oregon). Simultaneously, Professor Teja Singh, Lala Har Dayal, Bhai Parma Nand (Lahore) and Tarak Nath Dass had been instrumental in creating such awakening in California. Kartar Singh Sarabha, studying chemistry at Berkeley, plunged headlong into the movement. Bhai Jawala Singh, a prosperous farmer, offered scholarships for Indian students to come to America for study and

work for Indian's freedom on getting back there. In Canada, too, in the neighboring British Columbia, the surging anger against the rising racist conditions had prepared ground for an upheaval. The heroic fight for the basic human rights had been continuing there with three delegations nominated by the Sikh sangat to represent to the British and Indian governments to seek redressal of their grievances. Instead, situation for Indian workers in British Columbia deteriorated culminating into the return of Komagata Maru in July 1914.

How the Gadar Party was formed, Baba Bhakna recounts thus: "In the beginning of 1912 Babu Harnam Singh Kehri Sehri and G.D. Kumar, who had their center of activities in Seattle, visited Portland. Their activities centered round the idea of social reform or they would publish some broadsheet but could not build any movement. Even other seasoned patriots such as Kishanji Verma, Madam Cama, Lala Har Dayal, Tarak Nath Das, Sardar Ajit Singh also were unable to turn their ideas into any mass movement. When both Harnam Singh and G.D. Kumar interacted with Indian workers in mills around Portland they discovered that the Indians here did not approve of any reformist program. ... Both Hamam Singh and G.D. Kumar agreed with the workers of Portland, and it was decided to form a revolutionary association which should have its name as Hindustan Association of Pacific Coast.

The Party should have a paper to be called Hindustan....These decisions were taken unanimously and office bearers were elected: President: Sohan Singh; General Secretary: G.D. Kumar; Secretary: Pandit Kanshi Ram. They were elected unanimously. The executive committee had Harnam Singh Tundelat, Udham Singh Kasel, Ram Rakha and some other comrades. Those days Kartar Singh Sarabha too had arrived and was staying with his co-villager Rulia Singh and worked in Astoria Mill."

Baba Bhakna puts the record straight regarding the role of Lala Har Dayal in the foundation of the Gadar Party. He says that either out of ignorance or some other reason some people call Har Dayal the founder of the Gadar Party. That is not true. The party had taken roots much earlier than Har Dayal's first visit to St. Joan in March 1913. In his presence only one change occurred, and that

was, the word Hindustan in the association was replaced by Hindi and the name of the newspaper to be published was decided to be called Gadar and not Hindustan

Baba Bhakna continues: "The last conference was held on 21 April 1913 at Astoria Lumber Mill where the representatives of all mills were present. After deliberations, the decisions taken at St. Joan were unanimously approved. The members gave generous donations for running the office of the party and the newspapers. Pandit Kanshi Ram donated 10 thousand dollars in cash and a piece of land to the party.

Now, the Hindi Association got itself converted into an organization that cried gadar (mutiny) against the might of the foreign rulers in their homeland. The idea of gadar (mutiny) gained momentum as a strategy, i.e. to spread disaffection among the Indian soldiers in the service of the British Imperialism and prepare them to mutiny. The first war of independence in 1857, known as gadar, became the model for action for which organizational work was carried out in the USA to be executed by members of the Gadar Party in India.

All classes of Indians living in America came under one umbrella organization, i.e. the Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast, which immediately got into the act and got the name the Gadar Party. The two other Indian organizations that existed before had been without any political agenda. These were: the Hindustan Association of the USA, composed mainly of students and educated men and the other organization was the Sikh Khalsa Diwan which had its headquarters at Stockton, California. Both got ideologically merged with the Gadar Party.

The back-bone of the movement, however, were the peasants who had trickled in the USA from their distant land where also they had been facing economic misery due to the inhuman policies of the British. These were sturdy and hard working people, with a farming background, and the only job opportunity for them had been in the British army. They had a reputation of being determined fighters. They were always proud of their heritage and the sacrifices their forefathers had made in their fight against the Mughal oppressors. They also were imbued with tales of the sacrifices made by the kukas who had been tied to the cannons and blown

to pieces by the British tyrants. Har Dayal, in his capacity as Secretary of the Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast, and being a man of erudition and fiery intent, aglow with the idea of armed revolution, took up the task of writing for the newspaper Gadar. Addressing a gathering of Indian workers and others in Astoria on June 2, 1913 Har Dayal said: "You have come to America and seen with your own eyes the prosperity of this country. What is the cause of this prosperity? Why, nothing more than this, that America is ruled by its own people. In India, on the other hand, the people have no voice in the administration of the country. The British are mindful only of their own personal interest. As an agricultural country India is infinitely richer than any other country in the world, and yet we see famine ravaging our country. The reason for this is that wheat is grown in India merely to be exported to England by the Government. From the official statistics of the last sixteen years it is seen that two crore people have died from hunger alone in India. Again, during the last decade, eighty lakh people have succumbed to plague. Government has been totally unaffected by this enormous loss of life."

On June 4, 1913, Har Dayal delivered another lecture on the subject of India at the Finnish Socialist Hall where a number of Americans were also present. He said: "The Roman Empire, the French before the revolution, or even the Russian Empire was not worse than the British Government in India. IT COULD NOT BE REFORMED AND IT MUST BE ABOLISHED....Two thirds of the army in India were Indians and received only four dollars a month as against the 25 dollars paid to English soldiers."

The weekly newspaper Gadar, published in Punjabi and Urdu, initially edited by Lala Har Dayal, who wrote most of the articles that formed the ideological core of the gadar movement, had an electrifying effect wherever it reached. In the first issue, the message was clear: What is our name ? "Gadar" What is our work? "Gadar" Where will it take place? "In India." The issue of the Gadar in Urdu appeared on the 1st of November 1913. In December an edition of the weekly in Punjabi (Gurmukhi script) was brought out, and in May 1914, a third edition was published in Gujrati also. The weekly circulation of the Punjabi edition was 2500 copies and 2200 copies were published in Urdu.

The Gadar Party had its headquarters at 5 Wood Street, San Francisco where it had a printing press to publish newspaper and pamphlets. Apart from Lala Har Dayal and Kartar Singh Sarabha, others who worked actively at the headquarters those days were Munshi Ram who dealt with correspondence and kept up the registers, and Hari Singh, the poet, a regular contributor to the Gadar; he wrote under the name of Fakir.

The mobilization work also took place on occasions of special congregations at the gurdwara in Stockton. As the message of the gadar spread quickly among Indian immigrants through the fiery writings in the Gadar, meetings were held at different places wherever Indian workers/farmers were.

Here is an account of the meetings/mobilization that had taken place (available in a book An Account of the Gadar Conspiracy, 1913-1915 written by British Intelligence Officers F.C. Isemonger and J. Slattery): "On the 12th April 1914 a meeting was held at Stockton under the auspices of Khalsa Diwan Society, which Sohan Singh (Bhakna), President of the Hindi Association, was deputed to attend from Astoria. On the 10th May there was a series of meetings at Fresno, Upland, Oxnard and Los Angeles. Weekly meetings were also held at Claremont during May at which the audience was exhorted to shed its blood in expelling the British from India."

As meetings became a daily phenomenon, the account, as given by the intelligence officers, says: "On the 7th June there was a meeting at Astoria at which the usual songs and speeches were delivered. Bhagwan Singh was president. Violent speeches were delivered by him and by Barkatullah and Sohan Singh, each of whom advised the audience that it was time to hasten back to India and start a revolution there. On the 8th and 9th June the audience assembled again, vowing to fight and die in the coming mutiny. A meeting was also held at Wina on the 9th June, at which mutiny was preached with great enthusiasm. Others were held on the 11th June at Washington (Oregon), on the 13th June at Aberdeen and on the 15th June at Seattle, where many new members were enrolled. On the 14th June there was a special meeting at Portland which commenced with a procession led by a band. The main subject discussed was the detention of the

Komagata Maru. and the audience vowed to join in the coming mutiny and to expel the British from India."

A very large meeting was held at Stockton on the 3rd July, which was attended by Indians from Canada and Mexico, and there were other meetings at Elton and Jersey in California on the 5th and 7th July.

Kartar Singh Sarabha, 19, had arrived in America in February 1913 and studied chemistry at the University of California in Berkeley. Sarabha soon became a leading activist of the movement. He was a link between the intellectuals/students and the workers/farmers. He shifted himself to the Gadar Party headquarters and operated the machine that published the newspaper He was later sentenced to death and hanged in the infamous Lahore Conspiracy Case In the same case Vishnu Ganesh Pingle of Pune, Bakhshish Singh of Gilwali (Amritsar), Harnam Singh of Bhati Goraya (Sialkot), Jagat Singh of Sursingh (Amritsar), Surain Singh of Gilwali (Amritsar), Bir Singh of Bahowal (Hoshiarpur), Ishar Singh of Dhudike (Ferozepur). Ranga Singh of Khurdpur (Jalandhar), Rur Singh of Talwandi Dausanj (Moga), Uttam Singh Hans (Jagraon), Balwant Singh of Khurdpur (Jalandhar) Hafiz Abdulla of Jagraon, all returned immigrants, were sentenced to death and hanged. Besides, there were several others who were hanged in the same case.

As an offshoot of the weekly Gadar, the Gadar Party headquarters published several pamphlets, the most important of which was an anthology of poems/songs called Gadar-di-Goonj. Ten thousand copies of this pamphlet were published and quickly distributed. The native talent of the peasants, the raw feelings for justice, freedom and equality, and the fiery need to get prepared for action, all got reflected in the verses composed by several amateur poets. This pamphlet truly reflected the political consciousness of the hard working farmers/workers who organized themselves to take up arms and fight for freedom of their country and against injustice/oppression.

The Gadarites were convinced that the British would have to be forced out of the country. No way the alien rulers, who had been looting the country for long, would offer freedom for the asking, and on the platter. The only way for Indians was to

organize and prepare the Indian soldiers working for the British to mutiny; this could be done through guerrilla tactics. As Britain was entangled in the First World War in 1914 the time, it was decided, to strike had come.

With this intent, thousands of them, who had come to the USA for a good living and for better prospects for their families, readied themselves for a superior cause. The Gadar Party, most of its members being peasants from Punjab, several having served in the British Indian army earlier, became an instrument in metamorphosing the life and vision of the Punjabi immigrants.

Several thousands of them left the shores of California by whatever ship they could get and arrived in India to infiltrate in the army in India and tell Indian soldiers that instead of fighting to save the British empire they should be instrumental in throwing the British out of the country. In all, around six thousand left for India.

It changed the history of India regardless of the fact that not much attention has been given to the role of the Gadar Party and the supreme sacrifice of countless Gadarites in the annals of the freedom struggle.

Srihatta, the original homeland of Sylhetees, was subjected to repeated political changeover during the pre-independence era. Administrative and political pressures kept changing the fates of the people residing there. Researchers and historians maintain that the people of different religio-racial stream belonging to different parts of India resided in sylhet for a long period and ultimately got absorbed into the mainstream of local population. Their contribution is by no means is insignificant.

It would not be out of context to mention here two of such personalities, Dewan Manikchand and Lala Hardayal Singh. When sylhet was annexed to the Mughal Empire, Dewan Manikchand was appointed as the administrator under the title of 'Dewan' and posted at sylhet accompanied by a general named Lala Hardayal Singh. Both of them settled down at sylhet and got permanently absorbed in local society by marriage. The descendants of those personalities migrated from sylhet after the partition of India in 1947 and are still living in the different parts of India. Dewan

Manikchand's son was Murarichand, whose son was Raja Girish Chandra, the founder of the first college at Sylhet , Murarichand college, named after his father. He also founded the first high English school at sylhet, Raja Girish Chandra High school, popularly known as Rajar School.

Lala Hardayal Singh selected a huge plot of land for his residence as well as for accommodation for his 'sephais'(Soldiers) under his command. He too, got permanently absorbed there. The area where he resided is known as Lalar Dighir Par,'Lalar Bari' called after his name. It is the westernmost part of Sylhet town. Lala Hardayal Singh used to wear an amulet of Mahavir Hanuman while commanding in the battle field. The holy amulet emblematic of Mahavir Hanuman, has since been worshipped by the descendants who migrated to India after 1947.

Srihatta, also , also known as Sribhumi ("Sundari Sribhumi" as termed by Rabindranath Tagore in his poem written after the separation of sylhet from Bengal and its annexation with Assam) was a land of abundance. Indeed it was blessed with natural beauty and bounty. In concord with its natural wealth and gaiety were its residents, sylhetees - welcoming, warm-hearted, lovable and peace loving. Sylhet bred and shaped many eminent personalities who attained excellence in academic, artistic, political and various other spheres. Repeated administrative change-over rocked the fate of its residents time and again. But their inherent qualities - love of peace and amity, urge for harmonious co-existence remained unabated. The uprooted residents of this beautiful valley got dispersed in various parts of the glove especially after partition in 1947. But they carried with them their deep cultural essence that distinguishes them from others and at the same time links them with the mainstream of humanity. The desire to preserve and promote their cultural identity has given birth to Srihatta Sanmeelani(an association of sylhetees) in various parts of India and abroad as well.

Peaceful co-existence and co-operation between two dominant religious communities in sylhet, i.e. the Hindus and the Muslims is indeed exemplary. Politics has often been, and not wrongly perhaps, termed as nuisance. Political profit mongers have often used religion as bait 'ISM' is their catchword. But if one happens

to step in Shahjalaler Dorga in sylhet, one would be struck by the free and unhindered access of the Hindus seeking solace and comfort from Pir Baba in malady and misfortune, distress and death. Shahjalal, although a Sufi saint, was revered and adored by one and all. The Hindus and the Muslims, irrespective of cast and creed still tread on the holy soil. Shahparan, (the holy tomb of one Shahjalal's descendants) another such resort, is still the nurture ground of harmony. People here are seen corded in one tie - the deep tie of love, share and care.

13 festivities in 12 months (Baro Mashe Tero Parbon) is a famous saying that illustrates many a socio- religious festival that keep people busy all through out the year. The dance and music, light and fragrance, garland and gaiety of the hindu festivals (be it Durga puja, saraswati puja, Nababarsha or marriage celebration) do involve and invite the other community and make them unfailing partakers. Give and take , participate and partake-still go on. Only when the political comet appears in the sky, the bright Sun of love is eclipsed.

Many (sylhetees) who felt the pain of quitting their motherland are dead and gone. Those alive , wistfully look back to the good old days. It remains in the hands the youths now to keep the flame of this unique culture alive and spread the message of good-will and amity in the strife torn world of today.

SIKHS, SWAMIS, STUDENTS AND SPIES: THE INDIA LOBBY IN THE UNITED STATES, 1900-1946

The strange title of this book caught my attention, and I admit that I thoroughly enjoyed reading it. Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies: The India Lobby in the United States traces a fascinating history of the "India lobby" in America in the pre-1947 period at which time the British abdicated the subcontinent. I recommend this book to all readers, especially those Sikhs and non-Sikhs, who are interested in knowing why Sikhs fell under the spell of Hindu leaders like M.K. Gandhi.

Sikhs, Swamis, Students and Spies tells the story of early Indian migrants to North America and Canada (mainly the Sikhs) from early 20th century to the end of World War II. Event after event with a stream of different Indian actors in the forthcoming,

Gould, a visiting professor at the University of Virginia, captures their prolonged struggle for securing civil rights, and promoting the cause of India's freedom from the British. This journey that lasted roughly a half-century, covers many events that the reader will find engrossing and stimulating. Prof. Gould, who is married to an Indian lady, comes across as a man who loves things that are purely Indian and shows respect toward the multitude of Indian cultures while openly confessing the racist policies and attitudes of White officials of that era.

Sidestepping the need to define or even briefly narrate Hinduism for the readers, Prof. Gould describes Sikhism as follows: "The Sikh religion and the socio-cultural milieu in which it evolved was founded upon doctrinal divergences both from orthodox Hinduism and fundamentalist Islam. It rejected many of the formalisms of the caste system and embraced principles of social egalitarianism derived both from Islam and Bhakti, it rejected orthodox Hindu polytheism and adopted a form of denominational monotheism based upon the authority of a succession of gurus." Why would Sikhism reject "many of the formalisms of the caste system" and not all of it?, and isn't Bhakti a European construct introduced with a calculated purpose of it leading to Christian evangelism?

Among the actors in this book described so well, the main mix of odd characters that truly shaped the maturation of "India lobby" are: Lala Har Dayal, Sohan Singh Bhakna, Taraknath Das, Gobind Behari Lal, Sarangadhar Das, Sailendranath Ghose, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Anup Singh, Syud Hossain, Haridas Mazumdar, Krishnalal Shridharani, and J.J. Singh.

The narrative that follows underneath while being critical is in no way casting any negative connotation on Prof. Gould's scholarship. For years I have been researching the state of Sikh affairs in pre-1947 India following Mahatma Gandhi's politics since 1919. One question that begs to be asked is what attracted Sikhs to Gandhi? What was their underlying trap? Before Gandhi came into picture, consider the example of the Ghadr movement: Why would Sikh peasantry, already burdened with so many problems and displaced thousands of miles away, would mount or even plan a violent revolution in India to free India from British

rule? One would expect North American Sikhs to free Punjab, their homeland-a task relatively easy to accomplish than working toward the freedom of the Indian sub-continent. Sikhs in North America had hardly any meaningful link to other parts of the British-India and yet they embroiled themselves in an endeavor destined to doom the community. Historically the Sikhs had never lived under Hindu rule and thus had minimal experience with Hindu leadership. After the annexation of Punjab in 1849, Sikhs faced a new master, the British, and a new Hindu leadership that professed modern Hinduism.

What surprises me the most is how Sikhs living on the West Coasts of U.S. and Canada entangled themselves under the leadership of Lala Har Dayal. After reading Gould's book I have come to realize that Lala Har Dayal was a Gandhi-figure. Why Sikhs fell for leaders who professed the doctrines of Hinduism and modern Hinduism continues to mystify me. I believe these vulnerable Sikhs set the stage for their fellow brethren in Punjab to follow suit. More intriguing is to know that there were no dissenting opinions among the Sikhs both in India and in the West. This fact should be researched further.

On reading the book under review, I couldn't help but notice that a number of important actors in the making of "India lobby" were also involved in propagating Gandhi in America; not to exclude some outright promotion of modern Hinduism that Gould didn't address. I have briefly mentioned it in my book, Gandhi: Behind the Mask of Divinity. I had been aware of Taraknath Das and his role in propagating Gandhi but how and where he had learned about Gandhi had always remained a mystery to me until I read Prof. Gould's book. The learned professor mentions on page 283, that both Das and "his wife attended the Unitarian Christian church in New York City whose minister is Doctor Holmes." This "Doctor Holmes" is none other than Pastor John H. Holmes, the person singularly responsible for bringing Gandhi's name to church-going Americans.

The love affair and possibly a secret marriage of Jawaharlal Nehru's sister Vijayalakshmi, to Syud Hossein is captivating. Even more fascinating is to know that Gandhi intervened to break up this "marriage." Why would Gandhi intrude into someone else's

private affairs especially at a time when he had barely gotten into Indian politics? Judging from the later activities of Syud Hossein in America who keenly promoted Gandhi makes one wonder if indeed there were other hidden reasons. This incident does underscore the important point of reassessing Gandhi and whether he harbored any prejudice against Muslims. Recent research on Gandhi's life points in that direction.

Those familiar with Gandhi's history knows the name of Henry Polak, a White associate of Gandhi from his early days in South Africa. Shockingly, in 1940s, while in America, Polak turned against Gandhi! Prof. Gould mentions this on page 335, but fails to shed more light on this important turnover.

While discussing the Drew Pearson affair, Prof. Gould unfolds the identity of a "deep throat" lodged in the State Department by the name of Robert I. Crane. Mr. Crane had leaked the contents of Ambassador William Phillips, US Special Envoy to New Delhi, which ended up on the pages of Washington Post (July 24, 1944) causing a crisis. Earlier, on May 14, 1943 Phillips had addressed his letter to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, which was critical of the British authorities in India in the context of the ongoing World War II and their purported negative impacts on the American interests. I urge readers to read the details of this crisis put together excellently by Prof. Gould. My own opinion is that Ambassador Phillips was naïve in his understanding of the Hindu leaders and the Indian population at large. Take for example in that letter of Ambassador Phillips this paragraph that caught my attention: I feel strongly, Mr. President, that in view of our military position in India we should have a voice in these matters. It is not right for the British to say, "this is none of our business" when we alone presumably will have the major part to play in the future struggle with Japan. If we do nothing and merely accept the British point of view that conditions in India are none of our business then we must be prepared for various serious consequences in the internal situation in India which may develop as a result of despair and misery and anti-white sentiments of hundreds of millions of people (italics are mine).

What is remarkable is that despite Phillip's credulousness, he noticed in the early 1940s that Indians exuded an anti-White

environment. This correct observation of his should have alerted him to probe deeper. Alas he did not! In Gandhi: Behind the Mask of Divinity, I have addressed a separate section detailing the anti-White racism inspired and promoted by Mahatma Gandhi. Tragically Ambassador Phillips saw the racism phenomenon but blamed the wrong party, the British.

The cover photo on this book depicts President Truman signing into law (July 2, 1946) the bill granting citizenship rights for which "India lobby" worked hard enough--some of these actors are seen standing behind President Truman in the picture. Ironically, Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, on his first official visit to US met President Truman at the White House. Truman labeled Nehru as an anti-White racist!

Lala Har Dayal played a very important role in the struggle for India's independence, He was born at Delhi on October 14, 1884. His father, Gaury Dayal Mathur, a Reader in the District Courts at Delhi, was not a man of wealth but a scholar of Persian and Urdu.

He received his school education at Delhi. For higher education, he sought admission in the Government College, Lahore from where he took his Master of Arts degree in English Literature, standing at the top of the list of successful candidates. In another year, he did M.A. in History and established a new record in the University. He was awarded a State scholarship by the Government of India, which entitled him to a three years' course of post-graduate studies at Oxford in England. Going abroad he studied for the Honors School of Modern History. Like many young Indians, he had the ambition to take the I.C.S. examination. But he soon dropped the idea and plunged into the struggle for freedom of India.

In England he developed close associations with revolutionaries and reformers like C.F. Andrews, Bhai Parmanand's, Shyamaji Krishana Varma etc. By becoming a member of Abhinav Bharat, a revolutionary association, be came in close contact with Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. There after he began to contribute profusely in the Indian Socialist. He went further registering his protest against the British oppression of Indians, especially the arrests of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh in 1907,

he resigned his State scholarship in England and returned to carry on political work at Lahore. On his way to the Punjab in January 1908, he halted at Poona where he met B.G. Tilak and G.K. Gokhale. Later, he left his wife who was expecting her first child at Patiala and adopted the life of a wandering monk. He began to dress simply, eat frugally and think deeply. On the advice of Lala Lajpat Rai, Hardayal started a center at Lahore for the training of young men. During these days he regularly contributed articles to the Modern Review and The Punjabi and openly associated himself with the revolutionaries. As the situation became tense, he left India and reached London in September 1908.

With the murder of Sr W.C. Wyllie by Madan Lal Dhingra, Indian revolutionaries in London shifted to Paris. Har Dayal accompanied them and inaugurated the Bande Matram, a monthly journal, in September 1909. Finding Paris uncongential for revolutionary activities, Har Dayal left for the U.S.A. via West Indies and South America. In January 1911 he reached Boston and soon after left Harvard to meet Bhai Teja Singh, a prominent Punjabi in U.S.A. From Harvard he went to Honolulu and then to San Francisco. Here in collaboration with Bhai Parmanand's, he began to work for the rejuvenation of his countrymen. With the help of Sikh settlers in California, he instituted six scholarships for India youth that would choose to work for the welfare of India. As his popularity increased and the First World War drew closer, he helped to organize the Ghadar movement in U.S.A. In 1913, he was General Secretary of the Hindustan Gadar Pary. As Har Dayal was the real brain behind the movement, the British Government pressed the U.S. Government to arrest him. Consequently, he migrated to Germany and in October 1914 sought German support for the liberation of India.

Distressed at the attitude of the German Government, he left Germany in October 10, 1918 for Stockholm and finally settled down in Sweden where he earned his livelihood by teaching and lecturing. He stayed in Sweden till October, 1927 when the British Government granted amnesty to all political refugees. In 1928 he decided to do from the same learned institution his doctorate on Bodhisatine Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature in October, 1931 he submitted his thesis and was awarded the degree. Next

year, his thesis was published in London. From now onward he followed only literary pursuits.

Har Dayal stayed in England for about 10 years. In September, 1938 he left for U.S.A. to deliver lectures at various Universities over there. It was in Philadelphia that he breathed his last on 4th March 1939. Ghadriite Harnam Singh Tundilat (1882-1962)

Ghadriite Harnam Singh Tundilat (1882-1962) , a Ghadr revolutionary was born, 11 March 1882, the son of Gurdit Singh, a farmer of modest means, of Kotla Naudh Singh, in Hoshiarpur district of the Punjab. He learnt to read Gurmukhi in the village Dharamsala and joined the Indian army as he grew up. On 12 July 1906, he emigrated to Canada and then to California in the United States of America in December 1909.

There he worked in a lumber mill at Bridalville, Oregon. He attended a meeting of Indian immagrants at Portland in the beginning of 1912 which led to the formation of Hindustani Workers of the Pacific Coast, later renamed Hindi Association of the Pacific Coast, but populally known as the Ghadr Party. The first meeting of the Association was held On 31 March 1913 at Bridalville, where Harnam Singh was elected secretary of the local branch. In party meeting at Sacramento on 31 December 1913, he was made a member of the central executive. Meanwhile, it had been decided to launch a weekly paper, Ghadr literally rebellion, to be published in Urdu, Punjabi, Hindi and other lndian languages. The first issue of the Ghadr in Urdu appeared on 1 November 1913, and its Punjabi edition followed in January 1914. To begin with, Lala Hardayal was its editor, with Kartar Singh Sarabha and Raghubir Dayal as assistant editors. Later, Harnam Singh, with a few others, was also invited to join the editorial board. He wrote verse in Punjabi and contributed to the paper poems burning with patriotic fervour. He also acted as a bodyguard to Lala HarDayal, the party general secretary.

With the expulsion of Lala Hardyal from America in April 1914, party work at the Yugantar Ashram, its headquarters in San Francisco, was resdistributed. Harnam Singh was made editor of the Ghadr, with four others to assist him. Talk of an impending war netween Great Britain and Germany was in the air, and the programme of the Ghadr Party was directed towards a planned

rebellion in India as the British got involved in Europe. While Udham Singh Kasel started imparting military training to party volunteers and Kartar Singh Sarabha went to the eastern coast to train as a flier-cum-aircraft mechanic, Harnam Singh learnt bomb making from an American friend. During an experiment, on 5 July 1914, his left hand was blown of as a result of which his left arm had to he amputated well above the wrist. He was given by his comrades the new name of Tundilat, The armless Lord. The epithet contained an ironic allusion to Sir Henry Hardinge, governor-general of India (1844-48) at the time of the first Anglo-Sikh war, who was called by the Punjabis Tundilat because of his having lost a limb during the Napoleonic Wars.

Upon the outbreak of World War I on 25 July 1914, the Ghadr Party directed its members and sympathizers to return to India forthwith Harnam Singh came via Colombo and arrived in the Punjab on 24 Decenber 1914 Disguised as a holy man in ochre robes, he roamed the Doaba villages preaching thc message of Ghadr. He also contacted, at the behest of the party, troops in Rawalpindi, Bannu, Nowshera and Peshawar cantonments. The plan for a military and general rising on 21 February 1915, later advanced to 19 Fehruary 1915, having tailed owing to betrayal by a police agent smuggled into the party cadre, Harnam Singh Tundilat along with Kartar Singh Sarabha and Jagat Singh of Sursingh escaped to the North-West Frontier Province to seek temporary refuge in Afghanistan and plan afresh.

But receiving no support from that government, they turned back and arrived, on 2 March 1915, at Wilsonpur, a remount farm in Chakk No. 105 in Shahpur (Sargodha) district, to stay with one Rajindar Singh, a military pensioner and an acquaintance of Jagat Singh, himself an ex-soldier. Rajindar Singh however, betrayed them to the police through Risaldar Ganda Singh of Gandivand, who held charge of a remount farm. All three were arrested and taken to Lahore Central Jail, where they were tried in what is known as thc First Lahore Conspiracy case. The trial by a special tribunal under the Defencc of India Act 1914 began on 26 April 1915 and the judgement was delivered on 13 September 1915. Harnam Singh Tundilat was one of the twenty-four sentenced to death with forfeiture of property.

The Ghadr leaders refused to file an appeal, but the Viceroy on his own commuted the death penalty into life imprisonment in the case of seventeen of them, including Harnam Singh. He served six years in the Andamans and nine years in other jails in Madras, Pune, Bombay and Montgomery. On 15 Scptember 1930, he was released on medical grounds. He served another term in jail from 1941 to 1945. At the time of intercommunal turbulence in 1947, he helped Muslim residents of his village and the surrounding area to evacuate to refugee camps. He died on 18 September 1962 after a brief illness.

Harnam Singh was a revolutionary poet and a writer of prose of considerable merit. Three collections of his poems have been published Harnam Lafairan, Kurltl SudSIar and Harnam Sandesh. His prose works include Sacheha Sauda, Akhlaq te Mazhab, both in Punjabi, and Mazhab aur Insaniat, in Urdu.

2

Ajit Singh

Revolutionary Who Kept Death at Bay till August 15, 1947

Sardar Ajit Singh - the name may not ring a bell among today's youth. Legend goes that this forgotten hero, an uncle of martyr Bhagat Singh, breathed his last on Aug 15, 1947 -- holding on to life till he heard the news of India's independence.

Unfortunately, no one pays him even a perfunctory homage at his memorial in Panjpulla in Dalhousie.

Born in 1881 in Khatkar Kalan village of Jalandhar district in Punjab, Ajit Singh received his primary and secondary education at the Sain Dass Anglo Sanskrit School in 1894 in the same district.

During the course of his profession as a teacher, in 1906 he formed a trade union comprising Class IV employees who had been working in government offices and courts. That's when his welfare work for widows, the poor and orphans began.

While attending the Congress session in Calcutta (now Kolkata) under the chairmanship of Dadabhai Naoroji, he got the idea of launching a mass campaign in Punjab to stir up the masses there about the freedom movement.

This coincided with the release of revolutionary Sufi Amba Prasad from prison after five years. He and Ajit Singh met and the outcome was the formation of the Bharat Mata Society, one of the first revolutionary groups in India.

As the British government levied new taxes on Jat farmers in Lahore and Amritsar, the Bharat Mata Society was quick to oppose it. Ajit Singh arranged a hectic tour and addressed over a dozen

public meetings cautioning countrymen against paying the water tax and sundry other taxes.

Ajit Singh did two very significant tasks during his lifetime. First, he prepared the outline of the Indian constitution. Secondly, he discovered a secret code of communication by means of which he used to write letters to likeminded people living in and outside the country.

He along with Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested and banished to Mandalay (Myanmar) in 1907. But after failing to establish authentic proof, the British authorities released both of them after six months of captivity. Later, during his self-exile, Ajit Singh came into contact with the Ghadar Party in San Francisco.

Even during World War I, Ajit Singh relentlessly continued his freedom struggle. When he was in Rome, the British took him into custody there.

Following the formation of the interim government in India in 1946, people impressed upon prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru to secure the immediate release of Ajit Singh.

In the meantime, a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of Allied Nations was to be held at Paris in which the release of POWs was to be discussed. V.K. Krishna Menon, who represented India, managed to secure Ajit Singh's release.

Soon after reaching his homeland, Ajit Singh fell seriously ill. Thereupon he was shifted to Dalhousie - a natural sanatorium - for convalescence. He was accompanied by his wife Ram Kaur and stayed there in a building known as "Spring Hotel".

Before that Ajit Singh had once taken refuge in Dalhousie in 1905-06 to escape arrest on criminal charges levelled against him.

It was apparently his long cherished desire to leave the world for good after hearing of the declaration of India's independence.

And so it was. At 12 midnight, just before the Aug 15, 1947, morn, several residents of Dalhousie went to Spring Hotel to felicitate the great freedom fighter on the declaration of India's independence.

Having heard the news, he uttered his last words: "Thank god, my aim is fulfilled and now I am leaving this world for

good!" That is how this hero of the freedom struggle breathed his last - in free India.

Sardar Ajit Singh: Hero of the 'Pagdi Sambhal Jatta' Movement

Shaheed Bhagat Singh's family, which had a rich political heritage of resistance to colonialism, had a deep influence on his development. His great grandfather, Sardar Fateh Singh was one of the valiant Sikhs of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's army who had fought bravely till the end against the British in the Anglo-Sikh war wages to defend Punjab from imperialist attack. As a result of his defiance, the British seized all his land and property after they captured the Punjab. Later, during the 1857 'mutiny', the British were in dire need of help, and the Governor of Punjab called upon Sardar Fateh Singh and other Sikh commanders and declared that those who supported the British against the rebels would not only have their confiscated property returned; they would also be handsomely rewarded and honoured. While many others agreed to this deal, Sardar Fateh Singh retorted, "I don't need property and wealth in return for turning traitor." Bhagat Singh's grandfather Sardar Arjun Singh was also an active social reformer in the Arya Samaj; he opposed untouchability and was a staunch nationalist. Bhagat Singh's father Sardar Kishan Singh and his paternal uncles Sardar Ajit Singh and Sardar Swaran Singh were totally committed to the cause of freedom. Sardar Swaran Singh, during his sojourn in jail, developed tuberculosis as a result of the inhuman conditions and died at the young age of 23.

Ajit Aingh was born on 23 January 1881 at Khatkadkalan village. In those days this village was part of Jalandhar district but now falls in Nawan Shahar district. He went to school in the nearby village of Banga, and later joined the Sain Das Anglo-Sanskrit School in 1894 in his home district for secondary schooling. He was then sent to Bareilly district in UP to study law, but had to discontinue his education and return home due to bad health. Later in 1896 he got his F.A degree from DAV College Lahore.

Following in the footsteps of his father, he committed himself to social causes. India was reeling under famine as a result of imperialist plunder. Ajit Singh worked tirelessly among the sick and starving people. Along with his brother Kishan Singh, he made extensive tours to the famine-affected areas like Barar (Madhya Pradesh 1898); Ahmedabad and other areas (Gujarat 1900); flood-affected areas in Srinagar (Kashmir) and earthquake-affected areas of Kangla in 1905.

Ajit Singh had been initiated into politics during his stay in Bareilly. His experience of visiting the areas affected by natural calamities and interacting with suffering people convinced him that the permanent solution to these problems could not be achieved until the end of British rule and establishment of true democracy in the country. So he made it his life's mission to struggle for Indian independence. In the course of his social service works in 1903, he met and married Namo (Harnam Kaur), a young woman orphaned by famine, challenging caste and religious codes.

In 1903, when the Viceroy Lord Curzon organised a royal gathering and invited all kings and princes to declare their allegiance to the Raj by participating in this function, Ajit Singh and Kishan Singh came to Delhi, clandestinely met many of these kings and tried to mobilise them to build up another revolt on the lines of 1857. Finding that they got nothing better than formal assurances of support, they decided to continue the struggle by other means.

In 1906, Ajit Singh participated in the important session of the Congress held at Calcutta, to seek out and forge links with patriots who wished to go beyond the Congress' methods of petitioning the British rulers. On returning to Punjab they founded the Bharat Mata Society which was called 'Mahboobane Watan' in Urdu. This was an underground organisation, and besides Ajit Singh, Kishan Singh, Mahashay Ghasita Ram, Swaran Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad were some of its trusted lieutenants and active members. Their main objective was to prepare for re-enact 1857 on its 50 th anniversary in 1907.

In the meantime, peasants in Punjab were on the boil against the new colonial laws - the new Colonisation Act and the Doab Bari Act. The background to these acts was that the British government had constructed canals to draw water from the Chenab river and take it to Lyallpur (now in Pakistan) to set up settlements

in uninhabited areas. Promising to allot free land with several amenities, the government had persuaded peasants and ex-servicemen from Jalandhar, Amritsar, and Hoshiarpur to settle there. Peasants from these districts left behind land and property, settled in the new areas and toiled to make the barren land fit for cultivation. But as soon as they had done so, the government had enacted the new laws to declare itself master of this fertile land, denying the farmers the right to ownership! The new laws reduced the peasants to sharecroppers; they could neither fell trees on these lands, nor build houses or huts nor even sell or buy such land. If any farmer dared to defy the government diktat he could be punished with eviction from the land. Also the new laws decreed that only the eldest son of a sharecropper was allowed to have access to the land tilled by his father. If the eldest son died before reaching adulthood, the land would not pass to the younger son, rather it would become the property of the government. Not only this, through the taxes levied for more than one and half decades in lieu of canals on the Chenab river to irrigate these 20 lakh acres of land, the government had not only got back its initial investment, it was also able to extract more than 7 lakh rupees per annum on the abpashi tax.

Ajit Singh and his comrades put in all their efforts to channelise the widespread discontent and anxiety of the peasants against the British policies into a popular mass resistance. The peasants however, deeming their strength to be low first approached the well-known Congress leader and lawyer, Lala Lajpat Rai to lead the movement. However, Lala Lajpat Rai disappointed the peasants by arguing that the Congress would be unable to do anything because the Bill had already been passed as a Law. It was then that the peasants accepted the leadership of Ajit Singh and his Bharat Mata society, which was waging a fearless resistance to the anti-peasant laws.

In no time, Lahore and its neighbouring areas saw a veritable wave of rallies, demonstrations and mass conventions attended by thousands of people. These militants meetings were addressed in the main by Ajit Singh, who did not restrict himself to merely opposing these repressive laws, going on instead to present the true picture of a nation ravaged by British colonialism, and ending

with a rousing call for an all-out rebellion against the foreign rule. While his speeches stirred and inspired the masses, the British, clearly seeing this as a sequel of the Great Rebellion of 1857, were rapidly turning anxious. A circular reached the offices of the English collectors and Deputy Commissioners, that the common people, but especially soldiers, should be banned from listening to his speeches. But this only greatly enhanced Ajit Singh's popularity. The symbol of this movement was a tri-colour flag, mounted on two and a half feet long staff, carried by all those who attended the rallies and demonstrations. Ajit Singh would exhort from his public meetings that the English would be beaten out of the country by this stick.

In a mammoth rally at Lyallpur on 3 rd March 1907, Banke Dayal, the editor of the newspaper, Jhang Syal, introduced his song, "Pagdi sambhal Jatta, Pagdi Sambhal oye". Such was the popularity of the song that it soon became the very symbol and soul of the movement. So much so that the movement itself came to be called the Pagdi sambhal Jatta movement.

Explaining his choice of Lyallpur as the base of the movement, Ajit Singh wrote: "I had deliberately selected Lyallpur …because it was a newly developed area. This district had attracted people from all over Punjab and was especially populated by retired soldiers. I was of the view that these retired army personnel could facilitate a rebellion." And indeed, his hunch proved to be true. There was a great deal of attraction and sympathy for the movement within the army. While soldiers would often visit his mass meetings to hear him, on 18 th April 1907, a large contingent of over 200 Sikh soldiers joined a meeting in Multan. A direct fallout of this was that soldiers at many places refused to obey the British government's orders to fire at the protestors at the peasant rallies.

Seething anger at the repression unleashed by the British government erupted in riots in Rawalpindi, Lyallpur, Gurdaspur, Lahore and many other towns and villages. The agitated protestors ransacked government buildings, post offices, banks, overturning telephone poles and pulling down the telephone wires. Those Britishers who fell in their hands were either thrashed or had their faces blackened.

Lord Ibbottson, the Governor of Punjab dispatched an urgent telegraph to the Viceroy, Lord Hardinge. He wrote, "Punjab is on the brink of a rebellion being led by Ajit Singh and his party. Arrangements must be made to halt it." Just prior to this on 29 th August 1906, the Viceroy Lord Minto had written to the then India Minister in Britain, Lord Macaulay: "ground is being prepared for a rebellion in the armed forces. Literature of a certain kind is being distributed among the soldiers and this will no doubt result in a rebellion."

Two weapons were indispensable to the Bharat Mata Society led by Ajit Singh: speeches and publications. Towards this end, he established the Bharat Mata Book Agency, which extensively published anti-government literature. The moving spirit behind the society was the supreme patriot and revolutionary intellectual, Sufi Amba Prasad ji. Bharat Mata (initially a monthly, later turned monthly), India (in English), Peshwa (in Urdu), and Punjabi (in English) were openly partisan to the movement. The Agency published numerous propagandist tracts, each of which was a call to arms. Even as these books and pamphlets were seized by the establishment, it only fuelled their popularity further. In government circles, the Bharat Mata society's movement came to be known as the 'little 1857'.

Fearing the tidal rise of revolutionary activities, the British Government issued warrants against Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai on 4 th May 1907. Ajit Singh's leading comrades--Sardar Kishan Singh, Sardar Swaran Singh, Lala Lachand Falak, Lala Govardhan Das, Mahashay Ghasita Ram and Pandit Ramchand Peshawari--had already been arrested and imprisoned on charges of resorting to violence against the police superintendent Mr. Philip and another British police officer, Mr. B.T during the anti-British rioting in Lahore earlier. Lala Lajpat Rai was arrested on 9 th May but Ajit Singh succeeded in eluding the police in order to conclude his various political responsibilities, at the end of which he surrendered to the police on 2nd June. Like Lala Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh too was exiled to Mandalay Jail in Burma. This was the same prison in which the last Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar had been incarcerated as a punishment for the Great Rebellion of 1857, and following him in 1882, the hero of the Kuka (Namdhari)

rebellion, Baba Ram Singh. Lord Macaulay informed the British Parliament of Ajit Singh's imprisonment thus: "Between 1 st March 1907 to 1 st May 1907, this prominent revolutionary leader of Punjab addressed as many as 28 meetings. Only five of these were related to the problems of the peasants; the rest all preached revolt."

While the national leadership of Congress put their weight behind Lala Lajpat Rai's release, proving that he had no links with any revolutionary movement, they maintained a complete silence on Ajit Singh's release. The moderate Congress leader, Sri Gopal Krishna Gokhale wrote to the Viceroy's secretary on 10 th June 1907, expressing the desire to visit Shimla in July end in order to submit a petition to the Viceroy urging for Lala Lajpat Rai's release signed by all non-governmental members of the Viceroy's council, and regional councils, as well as senior functionaries of the Congress.

Indeed, in his letter, he strongly opposed any allusion to any comradeship between Rai and Singh: "To link Lala Lajpat Rai to Ajit Singh is a grave injustice. When in visited Lahore last February, Ajit Singh had insulted Lalaji by calling him a coward and stooge of the government. All because Lalaji refused to participate in his movement." Bowing to Congress pressure, the British Government declared the release of Lala Lajpat Rai on 7 th November 1907. Though the Government did not want to risk releasing Ajit Singh, it was under tremendous political and psychological pressure. The "pagdi samhal jatta" movement had spread far beyond the peasants to engulf the army, and the government realizing that it was cornered ceded by withdrawing the new Act in toto, thus reinstating the peasant's proprietorship over land.

In these circumstances, to have continued to keep Ajit Singh alone under imprisonment, the government ran the danger of turning him into the unrivalled leader and hero of the revolutionary movement. The Government reckoned that even a free Ajit Singh would not be able to arouse the same fervour as before since the controversial law had already been withdrawn. As a result, Ajit Singh was released along with LLR-though the British government created a charade that their release had been announced on the happy occasion of George V's coronation. The people of Punjab

belied the hopes and expectations of the Government: their reception of the recently released Ajit Singh was unsurpassed in warmth and grandness. This inevitably led to a rethink in the government.

Soon after his release, Ajit Singh attended the annual session of the Congress in December end in Surat (Gujarat), where he openly supported Tilak's extremist line against that of the moderates. His revolutionary demeanour and ideas moved Tilak to say: "Such is his talent that Ajit Singh deserves to be the first President of free India. We have no match for him." Upon his release, he turned his attention once again to the Bharat Mata Society and Bharat Mata book agency. The Urdu newspaper Peshwa, which was published under his guidance, became a staple part of the Punjabi intelligentsia's intellectual diet. Its print run had reached 1500, with demands continuously rising.

The sharp revolutionary edge of Ajit Singh's pamphlets, essays and speeches once again attracted the ire of the British Government. But this time, a warrant was issued with the clear intent of securing a death sentence for him Ajit Singh. Sensing this, Ajit Singh preferred to evade the police to escape overseas in order to continue his mission. At the end of 1908, or early 1909, he and his comrades Sufi Amba Prasad, Zia-ul-Haq and Harkesh Lathha had reached Iran traveling secretly via Karachi. He also changed his name to Mirza Hasan Khan. After some time, leaving his trusted colleague Amba Prasad in Shiraj to continue the revolutionary activities in Iran, Ajit Singh reached Paris covering Baku (Russia), Turkey and Germany. There he founded the Indian Revolutionary Association (Bhartiya Krantikari Sangh). He soon established contact with various individuals and organizations who were struggling for India's freedom in parts of Europe: among them were Shyamji Krishna Verma (a worker at the Indian House in London), Madam Bhikaji Cama with whom Singh interacted whilst trying to bring out the magazine, Indian Socialist; he also met Dr. Savarkar, Sarojini Naidu's brother Virendra Nath Chattopadhyaya and Mahadev Rao, a close associate of Ras Bihari Bose.

From Paris, he moved on to Switzerland, where he grew close to an international revolutionary organization. He became actively involved in the activities of the group, which drew revolutionary

and democratic elements of exiles from Turkey, Finland, Arab, Russia, Ireland, Poland and Iran. He lived in Switzerland till 1913, after which he shifted base to Germany. Whilst in Paris, Germany and Switzerland, Ajit Singh met with the tallest Communist leaders including Lenin and Trotsky, as well as the future dictator and father of Fascism, Mussolini. World War I had turned the situation in Europe very shaky and dangerous. Therefore Ajit Singh decided to leave Europe to move to Brazil. Meanwhile, his closest comrade, Sufi Amba Prasad was martyred in Shiraz whilst fighting the British Army alongside the Iranian nationalists. In his autobiography, Ajit Singh had expressed the hope that "one day Indians would bring his ashes or Samadhi back to India." Sadly, Amba Prasad remains neglected in the annals of our nationalist history.

While in Brazil, Ajit Singh had close links with the Hindustani Gadar Party, whose leading members, Bhai Rattan Singh, Comrade Teja Singh 'Swatantra' and Baba Bhagat Singh Bilga were his confidantes. His autobiography mentions his correspondence with his nephew Bhagat Singh. Once when he advised the young Bhagat to come to Brazil to study the revolutionary struggles of different countries, Bhagat Singh replied that Ajit Singh should return to lead the struggle in India, because the country was ready for a revolutionary struggle.

In 1932, he returned to Europe once again. His autobiography records that he met with Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. They tried to enlist the support of Germany to their cause but abandoned this after they realised that Hitler only meant to use the Indians as a pawn against the British.

Following this, they came to Italy and founded the Friends of India society. Their attempt was to sharpen the struggle against the British through Italian support. They used the Roman Radio to air speeches and programmes in Hindustani and Persian, urging the listeners, especially the soldiers to rise up in arms against the British rule. Through the support of another nationalist, Mohammad Shaidai, Ajit Singh undertook to recruit the Indian soldiers in the British Army who were arrested by the Italians. This was to found the Azad Hind Fauj. Owing to his efforts and amazing propaganda work, over 10,000 Indian soldiers began

training to fight against the British. Ajit Singh's autobiography records the pact they had with the Italian government: that the Indian army would only fight the British on Indian soil, and nowhere else. But given the political turbulence and consequent Italian defeat in the World War, this plan could never be realized.

After Italy's defeat in the second WW, Ajit Singh was arrested by the allied forces on 2 nd May 1945. From May to December 1946, when he reached London, Ajit Singh was incarcerated in a series of different prisons in Italy and Germany. His health deteriorated rapidly. When news of his failing health reached India, a strong voice for his release and extradition to India emerged. Meanwhile Independence was around the corner and on 2 nd September 1946, the Interim Government had already taken control of the political administration. Ajit Singh's old comrades and many Congress leaders began to pressurize Nehru for demanding his release. As a result of this, Ajit Singh was finally brought to London in 1946 and handed over to the officials of the Indian High Commission. Ajit Singh recorded with bitterness the pettiness of the Indian officials at the High Commission: citing instructions form Nehru, they prohibited him from attending the various felicitation meetings and programmes that had been organized to honor him on his release. After full 38 years, Ajit Singh returned to Karachi, which he had escaped in 1908. In Karachi, a rousing and huge welcome from Railway workers awaited him. He briefly visited Delhi, where he deliberated upon the country's future with Nehru. He returned to Lahore on 9 th April 1947, where he was warmly welcomed by people from all walks of life.

But the increasing communal violence and the impending partition alerted him to the realization that this was not the Independence he and his comrades had dreamed of, and for which they had sacrificed everything. This took a toll on his already frail health. He was taken to the hill station Dalhousie for recuperation, where he breathed his last on 15 th August 1947.

In his last message to the youth on 1 st April 1947, this great warrior for freedom said: "India urgently needs social and political revolutions-something we initiated in the beginning of this century. The responsibility now falls on your shoulders to take it to its

conclusion. … I wish that India's youth should emulate martyr Bhagat Singh-that with the cry of Inquilab Zindabad (Long Live Revolution) on their lips, they would not hesitate to sacrifice their lives for the cause of the revolution. ..Do not cease till there is ignorance, injustice and hunger in this country."

His words continue to call out to us to intensify our revolutionary struggles to build a new India.

Shaheed Ajit Singh, a noted revolutionary leader, after spending most of his life in exile, finally came to Dalhousie in the last days of his life to rest and retreat.

He was born at Khatkarkalan village in Jalandhar District. He studied at D.A.V. College, Lahore and later on Law College, Barreily.

He plunged into the freedom movement and left his law studies. In 1907, he was deported to Mandalay Jail in Burma along with Lala Lajpat Rai. After his release, he fled to Iran. From there, he traveled to Rome, Geneva, Paris, and Rio de Janeiro.

In 1918, he came in close contact with the Ghadar Party in San Francisco. In 1939, he returned to Europe and later on helped Netaji Subash Chander Bose in his mission in Italy.

In 1946, he came back to India at the invitatioin of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. After spending some time in Delhi, he came to Dalhousie.

On August 15, 1947 he breathed his last breath. On this date India god its Independence. His last words were, "Thank God, my mission is fufilled."

A samadhi in his memory is at Panjpula, a popular and scenic picnic spot in Dalhousie.

By the way, he was uncle of legendary martyr for Indian Independence, Shaheed Bhagat Singh.

GHADAR KI GOONJ

It is the story of monumental human courage of ordinary people against might of an empire upon which the sun never set. It highlights the discrimination and exploitation that our forefathers had to bear.

It is the story relevant in all ages because it shall inspire the people to fight against injustice and oppression. Most importantly it fills us with a sense of pride and patriotism for our country and her people.

In different parts of the country, the popular discontent against British rule manifested itself in armed revolts even after the great uprising of 1857 had been crushed. These continued throughout the remaining years of the 19th century. Peasant, tribal people, certain religious sects and, in some cases, sections of old ruling families were up in arms.

But since failure of the first war of independence, the British had become more and more cruel and exploitative. Kuka Guru Baba Ram Singh was the first to lead an uprising but he was arrested and externed and scores of his followers blown of by cannons. But he had made a beginning and soon Punjabi Hindus too came under the banner of Arya Samaj and an anti-British sentiment simmered in the people of Punjab. Land Alienation Act 1900, Canal Colonization Bill and excessive taxation were driving the peasantry to poverty and starvation they were forced to revolt under the leadership of Sardar Ajit Singh, Syed Haider Raza and Lala Lajpat Rai. Again the rebellion was crushed brutally and Ajit Singh and lalaji were sent to Mandlay Jail in Burma.

Thousands of Indians, mostly from Punjab, were settled in Canada and USA. Initially organized the fight against racial discrimination, they became the largest group of fighters for India's freedom, under the influence of revolutionaries. There, the pioneer of Indian revolutionaries was Tarak Nath Das in Canada. By 1913, the Ghadar party, named after the journal Ghadar (Rebellion) published in America in many Indian languages. The leading figure in the revolutionary movement in America was Lala Hardayal. Other important leaders included Sohan Singh Bhakna, Barkatulla and Darisi Chenchaiah. When the great War broke out, thousands of Ghadarites entered India, and along with sections of the Indian army, began preparations for an uprising. Anti-British feelings were running high, particularly in Punjab, as a result of the shooting down and arrest of many Punjabi emigrants who, after being refused entry into Canada, had returned to India aboard the ship Komagatamaru. Rashbehari Bose and Sachin

Sanyal, who were in contact with the Ghadarites and Indian soldiers, were coordinating simultaneous uprisings on 21 February 1915 in different parts of north India. However, the uprising failed to come off due to treachery, and the Ghadarites were crushed by the British. Many of them were hanged, included to 19-year old Kartar Singh Sarabha. Many more were sentenced to transportation for life and long imprisonment. Sohan Singh Bhakna was arrested on his arrival in India in October 1914. Chenchaiah was arrested in Bangkok on his way to India and detained. Rashbehari Bose managed to escape to Japan. Inspired by the Ghadarites, Indian soldiers, led by Chisti Khan and others, mutinied in Singapore, but were brutally suppressed. Only the ghadarites among them had some kind of a mass base in India. Their passion for freedom brought them together, irrespective of their religious, regional and any other loyalties. Their contacts with the progressive, socialist and revolutionary movements of other countries broadened their outlook.

The torch of India's Freedom movement had already crossed the seas and revolutionary paper GHADAR, GHADAR DI GOONJ, TALWAR and INDIAN SOCIOLOGIST were being printed and circulated. Some were smuggled into India and reproduced. Ghadar Party had been formed in San Francisco and was actively working towards obtaining arms and recruiting members to overthrow the British Government and liberate India. Some of these active Ghadarites were also abroad the illfated KOMAGATAMARU.

In the summer of 1914 Sardar Gurdit Singh and a group of 372 people sailed aboard a Japanese ship KOMAGATAMARU for thepromised land, the land of great opportunities and abundance. they had hope and dreams in their eyes because they thought that now ultimately they shall be able to yank off the yoke of tyranny under which they and their brethren had been forced to live. Almost all of them were Punjabis, a people known for their valor and hard work.

But the hostilities of the great Pacific Ocean ere a naught compared to what awaited them at their destination: Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. The authorities refused the ship to dock or disembark the passengers. The Punjabis argued that as

citizens of British Empire they had every right to live in Canada, which was also British territory. But under the provision of a draconian law, which smelt every bit of racialism and apartheid, the passengers were denied entry. An empasse ensued for two months during which the ship ran out of food and medical supplies, drinking and sanitation water but the Canadian government did not budge.

For two months the sons of Punjab fought against despair, depravation and disease hoping that one day dawn of their dreams shall come but what appeared on the horizon the Horizon were Canadian gun boats ready to blast the fateful KOMAGATAMARU from the face of the earth. All along the Ghadarites had argued and reasoned with the authorities and kept up the morale of the people destined to be persecuted and yet they were humans. They saw no reason in burying four hundred lives in a watery grave and decided to retreat to fight the might of the British empire another day at another place.

An embittered lot returned to Calcutta and was to return to Punjab by a special train but the devil had not finished with them. On 29th of September, 1914, at Budge Budge near Calcutta police fired at them, an allegedly unruly mob. According to British's own erstwhile Sedition Committee Report, 19 Sikhs were killed, many were arrested and 29, including Gurdit Singh, disappeared. It was heard that Ghadar Party had been able to load arms abroad the ship on her return journey.

The unsuccessful emigrants did ignite a new fire for people when they returned to their homes. An influx of Indians living abroad was on. So was a master plan to overthrow the colonial government. Bombs were prepared, arms were collected and instruments were made ready for destroying Railways and Telegraph wires. But the British got a scent of it. One Kirpal SIngh squeeled, and the whole operation was blown off. The government cracked down upon the activists. Special Tribunals under the Defense of India Act tried nine batches of them. 26 Ghadarites were hanged and many more were sentenced to imprisonment and transportation.

Their attempt might have failed, but the GHADAR KI GOONJ rant the air for years to come. The rest is history.

JATS UNDER BRITISH RULE

The Muslim rule and the British rule in India were basically different.

The former was outwardly more unpleasant but the latter was internally more injurious. The aim of British, whether in the days of East India Company or in the reign of British Crown, was purely based on drawing away the wealth of this country by milking away its natural resources by trade or by securing highly paid services.

Initially the country was kept under-developed in all spheres. Upto 1900 AD there were practically no schools. Postal facilities were almost non-existent. My grandmother used to narrate that when her son, my uncle, had gone to field in Kabul in 1879, AD the first letter was received from him after thirteen months. It was written in Urdu and had to be taken to the Mohammadans living in Bahadurgarh because no one in the village could read it.

I started my studies in 1900 AD when I was eleven years old in one of the first schools to be opened in our area. The means of communication i.e. Railways and Roads were developed later but only to satisfy the needs of their trade. Internal Policy was based on keeping the Indian public uneducated and politically backward, narrowing their mental horizon and to weaken their moral and social fibre, which we are finding difficult to rebuild even today. Maintenance of law and order was assigned to the Police Department and the Patwari played a pivotal role in the revenue department. Their salaries were so ridiculously low that they had no alternative but to exist on bribes.

These two departments directly affected the majority of the Indian population dwelling in the villages. They were permitted to be exploited by middle men, who bought their farm produce at cheap rates and later resold them at higher prices by creating an artificial scarcity. Indigenous products were procured at very cheap rates, exported to England, converted into commodities of daily use imported to India and were sold in Indian markets at very high prices. There were no means of irrigation and the public mostly remained in perpetual fear of successive famines. The famine of Bengal is a grim reminder.

The farmers suffered. I have myself seen grain being sold at 28 seers for rupee, barley at 32 seers and ghee at 22 chhatanks for a rupee. The farmer was therefore mostly in debt. The rates of interest were exorbitantly high. The loan, however trivial multiplied and once taken could not be easily paid. The moneylender had the right to liquidate his loan by having a decree from the court and confiscate the individual's property. Land was attached at the price of ten to fifteen rupees a bigha (1/5 of an acre). Nothing was protected by law.

The money lender by virtue of fictitious figures which the farmer could not challenge, took away his land, his house cattle, clothes, furniture, utensils, his stock of grain and even the modest trousseau of his daughter, just as she was preparing to go to her husband's house. The system of money lending was not operative during the Muslim Rule. The Muslim rulers, except the adventurous invaders, never took away the wealth of country to foreign lands. The British deliberately did not establish any factory in India, thus keeping the country industrially backward The English language was so effectively introduced in the life of the nation that we cannot do without it even now. It induced the elite of India to adopt English culture and forget their own. It however proved to be a double edged weapon, as it give them a wider perspective and the Realization of the humility of being ruled by a foreign people.

Indians were careless, and idle due to climatic effects, whereas the British were punctual, hardworking, well informed and well disciplined. They were very royal and sympathetic to their subordinates. They had a unique character, which had a good effect on the Indian life and various drawbacks were discarded. The uprising in 1857 was given a religious tinge, which also permeated in the Army. A new type of cartridge besmeared with fat, believed to be of cow and pig, had come from England and to touch it or bite it was against both Hindu and Muslim religions. Much against the will of the soldiers, they were made to fall in on the parade ground and ordered to receive training in loading the gun with this new cartridge by biting of its front portion with their teeth. When they refused they were arrested and tried. This started the rumor that it was intended to convert the soldiers to

Christianity. The soldiers therefore mutinied. The real people behind this movement were certain Rajas and Nawabs who resented interference by the British in their rule. The Emperor of Delhi and other Muslim Nawabs joined this mutiny because this they hoped to revive the old Islamic rule. But various Hindu and Sikh rulers did not join the mutiny, as they had no hopes of re-establishing a Hindu Raj.

They had always regarded the Islamic Raj worse than the British Raj. For full 700 years the Hindu society had suffered greatly under the Islamic rule. They fought on the side of British army. The Phulkiyan rulers who had been protected by the British against the expansion of Ranjit Singh, and were therefore indebted to them also helped.

The Jats generally they kept out of this movement' The influence of East India Company was mostly confined to Southern and Eastern Part of India and the people of these areas were affected by British Policies. Even after the extension of British rule over other areas, Jat rulers retained their Kingdoms and had friendly relations with the British. The Jats did not suffer any outward ill effects of British rule and were educationally not sufficiently advanced to understand their deeper motives.

Only Rao Raja Tula Ram of Rewari and Raja Nahar Singh of Ballabhgarh joined in the mutiny from their area, as they had also ties with the Emperor.

The Rajput rulers of Rajasthan also kept out of it. When the mutiny was suppressed, the Mughal Emperor and other Nawabs were all awarded different types of punishments and ousted from their kingdoms. Before the mutiny, the Indian Army mostly consisted of men from East and South India. After the Mutiny the British began to recruit soldiers from North India, and Gurkhas to make their army more powerful and trustworthy. About 70% of the total combatants were composed of the Jats belonging to all the three religions. They displayed outstanding fighting qualities, won many difficult battles for the British and were considered very trustworthy till the end of 19th Century. When the Hindu Jats came under the influence of Arya Samaj, the British began to be suspicious about their trustworthiness.

The adoption of Arya Samaj By the Jats and it's repercussions

Swami Dayanand Saraswati was born in 1814 AD. Born with innate greatness and bring fortunate in having a learned teacher, he attained high knowledge. He went out into the world to fulfill the ambition of his teacher, to revive the knowledge of the Vedas, which alone, according to him, was the revelation from God.

He devoted all his life to work on social reforms. He founded the Arya Samaj and laid down 10 principles :-

(1) God is the source of all knowledge.

(2) God is omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, formless, faultless, just, kind and indestructible.

(3) Vedas are the books of complete and true knowledge. Reading and teaching, hearing and talking of Vedas is the sacred duty of every Arya.

(4) One should always be ready to accept truth and give up falsehood.

(4) Every action should be done according to Dharma, i.e. after due consideration of truth and falsehood.

(6) Welfare of the world, physical spiritual and social is the main aim of this Samaj.

(7) One's behavior with others should be full of love, according to Dharma and as is due to them.

(8) One should try for the progress of knowledge and destruction of ignorance.

(9) One should not be satisfied with one's own progress only but should consider one's progress of all.

(10) All should obey the rules of society. Yet every one should be free to choose his own path.

Swami Dayanand defeated Pandits of various religions in religious discourses and proved that only the Vedas were divine revelations and that the Vedic Religion was the only Divine religion. None of the Pandits, Maulvees and Padris (Christian priests) could stand before him in these discourses.

Every year the Europeans for the spread of Christianity in India spent many lakhs of Rupees and then they were suddenly

disappointed because of the teachings of Arya Samaj. In Satyarth Prakash, Swamiji criticized teachings of various religions, which were not in accordance with the Vedas.

He wrote one full chapter on criticism of Christianity. The British, who were Christians, felt defeated. There was nothing but disappointment for them. They tried to declare him a political rebel, for in the Satyarth Prakash Swamiji had clearly written that self Government was the best government and that it would be the best for followers of all religions. He also preached that people should prefer indigenous to foreign goods. Swamiji never took active part in political activities. He was only a social and religious reformer. Nevertheless, religion does play an important role in politics. After his death his followers continued to propagate his teachings, which appeared to go against the British rule in India. Arya Samaj appeared to them like white ants eating into the tree of British rule in India.

In the beginning, the teachings of Arya Samaj were limited to large towns only. But in the early part of the 20th century, Arya Samaj became very popular, in all towns the Punjab. D.A.V. College of Lahore produced a large number of patriots. The Jats in the rural areas of Haryana adopted Arya Samaj with great enthusiasm. Criticism of the old Pauranic religion by Arya Samaj greatly appealed to the Jats. It was disconcerting to the British that a martial race like the Jats should fall under the influence of Arya Samaj.

Leaders of Arya Samaj like Lala Lajpat Rai raised a forceful voice. He never used a loud speaker yet each word uttered by him exploded like a bomb " Swaraj (Independence) is our birth right and we shall attain it', was his main slogan. Further restrictions were imposed on Arya Samaj gatherings were prohibited and dispersed by force. Nambardars and Zaildars who took part in Arya Samaj functions were removed from their jobs. Sacred thread-wearing followers of Arya Samaj were not to be recruited in the Army. A large number of army men, who were suspected for Arya Samajic view, were thrown out. Jat soldiers were the worst sufferers in this. Inspite of their unquestionable loyalty to the Government, they were suspected. All temples in Army units were based on Pauranic Mat, where in place of religious education

only idol worship was practiced. This was not acceptable to the Jat soldiers. They were ordered to attend the temples, but, instead of worshipping the idol, they would sing Arya Samaji songs, which were not in keeping with the Puranic faith One of the most popular of these songs, had the following meaning.

"O, God, how to please you, I cant see anything worthwhile to offer to you, you are omnipresent, so how to call you, to try to call you by ringing a bell would be disrespect to you; To try to feed you also sounds ridiculous. How can I feed you, who feed the whole world? The Sun moons and stars all takes light from you. It would be ignorance to light a lamp before you. You have no chest, no neck, no forehead; you are formless, O God, where can I put sandal paste on you. You are in this idol and so are you present in the flowers. How can I offer God to God 'O, God."

This type of songs disturbed the Pandits who considered these an insult to the idol. Through the Risaldar Majors, Pandits complained to the British Officers against Jat soldiers.

The First World War started in August 1914. The non-Jat communities could not meet the increased requirement of recruitment. Whereas Jats, due to their fondness for military chivalry were available in sufficient numbers. A circular was therefore, published in 1916, lifting restriction on the recruitment of sacred thread wearing Arya Samaji Jats. The Jat troops displayed unparalleled fighting qualities during this war and the number of Jat Units was therefore increased.

However, in about 1935 or 1936, when the British had enough time to forget the services of the Jats, another secret circular was issued to dismiss army men with Arya Samaj views. And this naturally applied to Jats only because there were no Arya Samajis amongst Muslim and Sikhs.

At that time I was senior JCO of the Jat Squadron and also officiating Risaldar Major in 19 King George V's Own Lancers. The Commanding Officer Lt. Colonel R. Dening called me and said, "I want you to give me the names of all with Arya Samaji views. I have full "trust that you will give me a correct list." I replied. "Sir. I will give you all the names, but you may be disappointed because myself in whom you have full faith, have

been a staunch Arya Samaji ever since I joined the Army All the persons in Jat Squadron are Arya Samaji and I am sure most of the Jats in the Indian Army are Arya Samajis. But they are absolutely loyal to the Government. The Commanding Officer said in much anger 'I didn't want to hear so much of truth'. His reply to the circular was that there were no Arya Samaji's in the Regiment.

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

The Jats could never be drawn whole heartedly into the Congress folds in their struggle for independence. This was because Congress had always been basically urban oriented and dominated by the business community. They have been able to guide the destiny of the nation for some time because they were privileged to acquire better education than the rural class. The Congress has, never devoted itself to protecting the farmer from exploitation by business class middle men.

The so-called land reforms envisaged by the congress party or congress government were impracticable. They have been aimed at depriving the landholders of their land, under the subterfuge of cooperative farms and limited concerns.

The slogan of land to the landless has resulted in sub division of land into uneconomic holdings in the hands of people who are not experienced in farming and created a disrespect for manual labour in a class who used to subsist on labour. The plan of cooperative farming died in the womb. The so-called social services are only a collection of Khadi clad bureaucrats, a burden on the villagers and the nation. The only thing they did effectively is to white wash cowdung heaps to give an impression of model villages for visiting VIPs.

Whatever following the congress has therefore, been able to obtain from the Jats, and most of the farmers have been induced, not by the enlightenment and enthusiasm but prompted by the absence of an alternative.

There were basic differences amongst urban Congress leaders and the farmers on subjects like Mortgage act and Tenancy Act. When these were eventually passed, in favour of protecting the farmers, the urban congress took out processions and labeled that legislation as 'Black acts'.

In view of these circumstances, Zamindar League was founded in Punjab. The founders of this party were Sir Fazal Hussain, Rao Bahadur Captain Lall Chand and Sir Sunder Singh Majithia. But soon after that Sir Chhotu Ram became the fore-runner of this party, along with his colleagues Sir Sikander Hayat (chief Minister of Punjab) and General Sir Khizar Hayat Khan Tiwana. This party demanded that there should be proportionate representations of villagers in the Punjab Government.

The Unionist party of Punjab comprising of Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs ran the Government with such efficiency that no congress governments in other provinces could compete. Due to this the Congress and Muslim League had no hold in the Punjab, and the British Government, as well as the Congress Party remained unhappy with the Unionist Punjab Government.

However, there have been a number of prominent persons amongst the Jats who actively opposed the British rule and made outstanding sacrifices in the struggle for Independence.

Sardar Ajit Singh Sandhu, Sardar Bhagat Singh and Raja Mahendra Pratap are well known names

Sardar Ajit Singh Sindhu

Sardar Ajit Singh Sindhu was from a proud military family. He was the first man in the Punjab who resented the high handedness of the British rule and he openly criticized the government. He was declared a political rebel and he had to spend all his life in jail.

Sardar Ajit Singh was the uncle of Sardar Bhagat Singh

At that time there was full awakening in Bengal The Bengalis considerably frightened the British by their bomb outrages and acts of violence and compelled the government to take stern steps. The British government drew up a plan for building government colonies in the jungle areas of Lyallpur etc. They also wanted to propose amendments in the taxation system and zamindari rights. Sardar Ajit Singh's jagir was in this very area. Sardar Ajit Singh opposed their move vehemently and instigated other Zamindars also to oppose the government. His popular song 'Pagri sambhal Jatta' was sung in every corner and roused much pride amongst

the people. Sardar Sahib was thrown into jail, but the government had to give up the scheme,

Raja Mahendra Pratap

Raja Mahendra Pratap was from the Royal family of Mursan. At the age of 18 he went out to Europe and imbibed the idea of freedom and liberty. On his return he organized an engineering institute in his state for the poor people. He attached all his land to the Gurukul and worked a lot for removal of untouchability.

In 1914 when the First World War began he left for Germany quietly to help the Germans and to obtain independence for India. He was declared a political rebel and had to spend 32 years of his life in foreign countries. He could come back to India only when she became independent.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The First World War took place between 1914, and 1918, in which Indian Regiments fought with great bravery and boosted the prestige of Mother India. A large number of Indian soldiers were killed, wounded or incapacitated due co exposure to rigorous weather conditions. India gained one thing i.e. our soldiers got an opportunity to go abroad to Britain, France and other countries and appreciated the value of freedom and liberty.

Infused with these new ideas, when they came back to India they could understand the elements of selfishness, favoritism and injustice in the British rule and they considered it a weakness of their own to accept this injustice any longer.

There was a vast difference between the food, uniform and other amenities provided to the British and Indian soldiers. The French people often questioned Indians about this. The French soldiers and the civilians saluted the Indian VCOS when they saw stars and crowns like those of British Officers on their shoulders. But the British disliked this and they tried to stop the French from doing so. The salary of a British soldier was five to six times higher than that of an Indian Soldier.

In America and European countries the British had tried to convince the people that the Indian soldiers were far inferior to the British soldiers because they were semi barbarians and

incapable of manning guns and other modern weapons. When the soldiers of these countries saw the Indian soldiers working with great zeal, enthusiasm and devotion, they could do nothing but condemn the British attitude, who were unjustified, it was felt, in keeping India enslaved much longer.

The Indian soldiers also appreciated these things and they developed a strong urge for obtaining independence. No more did they fear the British Officers. The British too realized this change in their attitude and understood that it would not be possible for them to keep India under their rule for much longer. They made a number of promises for future to the Congress.

THE ROWLAT ACT AND CIVIL WAR

At the end of World War I the British Government passed the Rowlat Act with a view to putting an end to India's demands and suppressing the rising National spirit. Indian members of the legislature refused to vote for the bill, but it was passed inspite of their opposition.

This act created passionate views among the Indians. Gandhi launched the nonviolent non-cooperation movement, but the temper of people could not be restrained. British manufactured goods began to be boycotted, government orders were disobeyed and government buildings and essential services began to be shut down. The British had to post troops to maintain law and order. The Indian troops maintained their discipline, although it was very difficult to kill their own kith and kin. Mahatma Gandhi, the messenger of peace, diverted the attention of the people by organizing the Indians to fight out the war of Indian liberation, on peaceful lines.

He had already experimented the technique of non-violence, while fighting for the rights of the Indians against the government of South Africa. This technique stopped bloodshed. Non combatant people from towns joining the movement, were thrown into jails or beaten with police batons, which only made them more brave and courageous. The leaders of the martial races felt that if their people joined the movement it would be impossible to keep them from violence. If they did follow non-violence they would be useless as fighters. Therefore, they, particularly the unionist

Government of Punjab kept out these people from joining up the non-violence movement.

Sardar Bhagat Singh Sindhu

Under the shadow of his patriotic father and uncle, Bhagat Singh was brought up in an atmosphere of sacrifice for the nation. He passed his B.A. at the age of 16. He fled away from home to avoid early marriage. For some time he worked in the Pratap Press of Kanpur under the name of Balwant Singh. There he met B.K. Datt a great patriot. In 1925 there was a bomb outrage during Dashehra celebration. He was tried for this, but was acquitted.

On 20 October 1928, Lala Lajpat Rai, while leading a procession organized against Simon Commission, was beaten by the police on orders of the superintendent of Police, Mr. Scott and died as a result of the injuries. Within a month of this event the revolutionaries killed Superintendent Scott and a bomb was thrown in to the Assembly Hall at Delhi.

Sardar Bhagat Singh threw aside his loaded revolver and offered himself for arrest. On 30 October 1930 he was hanged, along with Sukhdev and Rajguru, in Lahore Jail. The bodies were taken into the dense jungles on the bank of the River Sutlej in the darkness of the night, cut into pieces and burnt.

Akali and Babbar Akali

Upto the beginning of the 20th century the Sikhs were considered to be very reliable by the British. They had, however, not forgotten their old history, when they had fought valiantly against the Mogul rulers. Unlike the Hindus they did not believe in untouchability, and they were fearless.

Moving out of the Punjab they had gone to Singapore. Burma, Rangoon, Honkong, China and America. Thev would join any profession, business, service or labour and grew rich, After living in the Western countries they breathed the air of freedom. Some of the more enthusiastic Sikhs brought weapons in a ship called Kamagata Maru to fight against the British Imperialists but they were discovered and arrested.

Some became great revolutionaries and created a new spirit in the Punjab. Huge Jagirs were attached to the Gurudwaras, but

the Sikh Panth as such was not deriving any advantages from the income out of these jagirs which was being misappropriated by Granthis who were leading a life of great luxury and license.

The 'Prasad', which was left undistributed in the Gurudwaras, was often given away to the cattle reared by them. A new system was introduced to reform the Gurudwaras and the Panth tried their level best to bring the Gurudwaras under their control. The British government was not interested in such reformist movements of the Panth and they sided with the Granthis.

Mahant Narayan Das of Gurudwara Nanakana Sahib was responsible for getting 146 Sikhs butchered in the Gurudwara itself. This created a lot of restlessness in the Sikh Panth. The British Government tried to help the Mahant by suppressing this movement, which was called the Akali Dal. The Akalis waged peaceful war and a large number of them were thrown into the Jail. The movement went on becoming more powerful.

Baba Kharak Singh. The British very cruelly beat a great leader of the Akalis, but he faced all this quietly, Some spirited Sikhs could not bear this. They formed a parallel party, called Babbar Akali and killed a number of offending British officials and their Indian informers. The Babbar Akalis was declared rebels. During this very period the Raja of Nabha was removed from his throne.

In the Jallianwala Bagh of Amritsar General Dyer opened machine gun fire on unarmed innocent people who were killed in a large number.

The Sikhs were later stopped from entering Gurudwara Bhai Jetu and performing the Akhand Path. On their refusing to leave the site, machine guns were fired on them. The processionists faced machine guns and boldly marched on. Ultimately the British Government had to yield and Akhand Paths were performed there.

Some time later, the government took over the control of the Amritsar Gurudwara and this too created roused much passion amongst the Sikhs. Thousands of them filled the jails. The Gurudwara was returned to the Panth and the Gurudwara Act was eventually passed, but the British lost confidence in the Sikhs.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War began in September 1939. The Congress leaders opposed India taking part in this war. They openly declared that the Indians would have nothing to do with the war as the Indians had no enmity against Germany or Japan. The British knew well that the real aim of the Congress was to gain independence. They had no hopes of getting cooperation from the Indians in their war against the axis powers. The Indian Army was not in a mood to betray the British, but they also knew, their own interests, fully well. Feelings of nationalism and patriotism were strong in the hearts of the Indian soldiers. Of course the British could enter the war only on the strength of Indian Army. They could not get such good soldiers in such a large number on such a low salary from Australia or Britain. They were, therefore helpless and had to trust that the Indian Army would remain fully loyal to the British.

As the war progressed some factors emerged to reduce British faith in the Indian Army.

A whispering campaign, based on the Gurbani, started among the Sikhs that time had come when the British must quit India.

The Gurbani predicted those harder times was imminent, when one Rupee would fetch only one seer of grain; the Muslims would replace the administration, and the Sikhs would be completely ruined. Putting full faith in such propaganda the Sikhs became very suspicious, and the Government began to find it difficult to get Sikh recruits.

The Sikh squadron of Central India Horse refused to board a ship, and got themselves arrested with cries of 'Sat Sri Akal'.

Another big reason was that the Congress working Committee passed the Quit India resolution. All members of the working committee were thrown into the Jails and the country went out of the control. There was great fear of a large-scale revolution-taking place in the country. People again started indulging in violent acts. The third big factor was the organization of INA in Burma with Indian soldiers who had been taken prisoners by the Japanese. The British were uncertain as to how long Indian Army would remain loyal. However, there was no change in the loyalty

of Indian Army. British officers also did not show outward signs of their apprehension.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

The leader of this National Army was Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He had passed ICS examination in London but preferred to join the National Movement for the independence. He was elected President of the Congress. In 1939, he was elected the President for second time despite the opposition of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders, by defeating Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

Mahatma Gandhi and his followers refused to work in co-operation with Subhash Chandra Bose, as they did not approve of his violent views. Therefore he resigned from the Presidency of the Congress. When the war started the Government decided to confine him to his house and posted heavy police guards.

Subhash Chandra Bose did not wish to lose this golden opportunity of taking full advantage of the war Going on against the British. He succeeded in escaping from his house. Disguised as a Maulvi he went out of India first to Germany and then to Japan. He organized Indian Nationals with the cooperation of Japanese Government, and he organized the Indian National Army out of Indian prisoners in which the Jats were naturally in the largest number, as they formed the largest part of the Indian Army.

He infused a new spirit in the Indian National Army, whereby distinction of caste, creed and colour was completely disregarded. The British were afraid that this would have bad effect on the loyalty of their own army. Even normal desertions were attributed to the influence of INA movement.

Japan surrendered and the Indian National Army also had to surrender. The British decided to try all those who had joined the INA. However, the whole Indian Nation and Indian Army was in favour of their being pardoned. In a confidential assessment of views, 85% of the Indian Army was found in favour of the Indian Nation Army being pardoned. This clearly indicates how the Indian Army was becoming more and more nationalistic minded.

The Congress took over the responsibility of fighting the legal case. The Commander-in-Chief finally pardoned them with the remarks that although they were guilty, taking into consideration the trend of opinion in the country; they have been pardoned,

The Divide and Rule Policy of the British Government

The British had followed the policy of divide and rule in administering India and they had always been very successful in their efforts. But towards the end of their rule in India they felt rather disappointed.

They succeeded in winning over Mr. Mohamad Ali Jinnah, and with his help they succeeded in creating a new fear in the minds of the Muslims, that Islam was in danger and, that they would be at the mercy of the Hindus if united India was given independence.

This new feeling in the minds of the Muslims proved a serious hurdle in the way of India obtaining freedom. Mahatma Gandhi tried his best to appease Mr. Jinnah, but this appeasement policy was a complete failure. Mr. Jinnah's demands went on increasing every day, and he became determined for the partition of India. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, who enjoyed great respect in the Congress circles, made a great mistake in supporting the demand of Mr. Jinnah. He even put forth his scheme, very well known as Raja Ji formula for the partition of the country. This scheme ultimately proved very harmful for the whole country, especially to Bengal, and Punjab, and partition was accompanied by unprecedented bloodshed. Rahbre Azam Sir Chaudhri Chhotu Ram our guide, friend and philosopher

Sir Chhotu Ram was born in family of a very poor farmer in village Garhi Sampla District Rohtak. From the very beginning he was interested in the service of the society. Whatever time he could spare after his professional hours, he devoted to social work. He was an Arya Samaji for a few years. He was the president of the District Congress. But due to mutual dissension in the Congress he left it

When world War II broke out in Sept. 1939, Indian National Congress led by Gandhi, refused support for the British Government on the grounds that after the conclusion of The 1st

War the Government did not satisfy the Indians by honoring the commitments it had earlier made. Consequently the recruitment for the Army from the provinces having a Congress hold was very thin. Ch. Chhotu Ram opposed this policy of the Congress. He said that for the survival of democracy and to save the world from the clutches of Nazi and Fascist Dictatorship, it was imperative that the Allies must be victorious. He asserted that if perchance the Allies were defeated, India would not gain freedom, rather she would be in stronger chains of slavery by losing all that what had been gained by that time from the British Government. By opposing recruitment for the Indian Army, India would be helping the Nazis, the staunch enemies of freedom and democracy. He further argued that the time was not far when the British would have to free India.

Free India would need a strong army well versed in the latest techniques of warfare. If the Indians did not participate in the war they would be deprived of the advanced training obtained by the soldiers of other countries of the world. Thus the boycott of recruitment would leave free India militarily much backward and weaker.

So he openly and strongly helped the Government in the matter of recruitment for the Indian Army. Due to his efforts enrollment in the Punjab was so heavy that it made up the deficiency of other States.

This farsightedness of Sir Chhotu Ram proved a blessing to free India, as she had to confront a war in Kashmir just at the dawn of freedom. Other national problems like the integration of states, especially Hyderabad, would not have been so simple but for the strength of the Indian Army.

This policy had an indirect but deep effect on the people of the Punjab. It provided good jobs for the Punjabis during these famine days and thus improved their economic position. Secondly it made the people of this border state tougher, stronger and more enterprising having modern outlook which enabled them to make the Punjab more advanced and prosperous than any other state despite of partition, bloodshed and mass migration. Moreover it is the military mindedness of the Punjabi's, which is greatly responsible for giving a befitting reply to Pakistan in the recent

conflict with her. Later on, Sir Chhotu Ram devoted all his time in improving the conditions of the poor farmers who were badly oppressed by moneylenders.

He wrote a book called 'Bechara Zamindar', in which he condemned the attitude of the government, officers and criticized them for their irresponsibility and high handedness.

He brought together the Zamindars of the three religions. Leaders of the Punjab had great respect for his views and gradually they too joined him. Mian Sir Fazle Hussain, Shaft Mohammad, Sir Sunder Singh Majhitia, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan and Sir Khizr Hayat Khan were his great friends. All of them rendered British maneuvers ineffective in the Punjab. Although the government considered him an opponent of their Policy, they failed to take any action against him because he was supported by all eminent leaders of the Punjab, there was a time when due to the Divide and Rule policy of the British, communal riots had be come common in most of the towns of India. But Punjab was the only province where, inspite of the fact that the Muslims were in a majority, such unfortunate events seldom took place. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab, solved such a knotty problem as that of Shahid Ganj in favour of the Sikhs. The scheme for constructing a big butchery in Lahore had been sanctioned. Lakhs of Rupees had already been spent on the construction of the buildings but the whole scheme was later on quashed. Sir Sikander Hayat Khan made clear in his announcement.

"I am a staunch Muslim leader and I have sympathy with the Muslim league but I will not tolerate opposition by the Muslim league in the Punjab".

The leaders of the Unionist Party repeated the same demand everywhere in public gatherings,

"We are all with the Congress in our demands for full freedom. We must have independence. But whatever we obtain we will obtain united - Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs together."

The Muslim league had honored Mr. Jinnah by giving the title of Quaid e-azam. Muslims and Hindus of the Punjab joined together and honoured Sir Chhotu Ram with the title of Rahbar-e-Azam in a function at Lyallpur.

Punjab's Challenge to Mr. Jinnah

After the death of Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, Sir Khazir Hayat Khan Tiwana, rather an inexperienced young man, was chosen as the Premier of the Punjab according to the wishes of Sir Chhotu Ram, who became his chief supporter. On this occasion Mr. Jinnah thought it a golden opportunity to interfere with the Punjab affairs. He tried to influence Sir Khizr Hayat Khan through articles, lectures, and personal messages and also by threats from religious leaders.

Sir Chhotu Ram, however, succeeded in cautioning his friends and helping them to arrive at a firm decision, that they would stick to their policy and refused to be bothered about the communal virus being injected into the party politics of India by Mr. Jinnah.

Sir Chhotu Ram warned Mr. Jinnah also. When Khizr Hayat Khan took leave due to the death of his father, Chaudhary Chhotu Ram was the acting Premier. The Punjab Assembly was in session.

Mr. Jinnah, declaring that Islam was in danger forcibly entered the premises of the Legislative Assembly, and invited the Muslim members to come under the banner of the Muslim League. Mr. Glancy, Governor of the Punjab, advised Sir Chhotu Ram to adjourn the Assembly, but Sir Chhotu Ram refused to do so and continued the session. He said 'this is the occasion to test my Muslim friends. I hate artificial friendship. Whosoever wants to join the Muslim League may do so'.

The result was that out of 73 Muslim members, only three crossed the floor. The Governor was astonished and Mr. Jinnah felt humiliated. Chaudhry Chhotu Ram advised the Governor to send a message to Mr. Jinnah at his residence instructing him not to stay in Lahore beyond one week and, if in spite of receiving this order he continued to stay he would be arrested. The Governor felt surprised to learn of this line of action taken by Chaudhry Chhotu Ram and advised him to withdraw the order. He told Sir Chhotu Ram that Mr. Jinnah was a Muslim leader, just as Gandhiji was a Hindu leader, and if Mr. Jinnah was thus insulted this might create lot of excitement among the Muslims and the question might be raised even in, the Privy Council. Chaudhry Sahib refused to withdraw the order and urged that the order be immediately

communicated to Mr. Jinnah. The Governor gave the order to Mr. Jinnah on phone. Mr. Jinnah grew very angry, and urged the Governor to reconsider the notion before issuing such an order. Mr. Jinnah told the Governor that Sir Chhotu Ram could not oust him from the Punjab.

The Governor however, told Mr. Jinnah that it was Sir Chhotu Ram's order and he had no right to interfere in that case. The news was soon published in the newspapers and it created lot .of excitement among the Indians. People felt that it might not be very easy to solve this knotty problem, but before the week ended Mr. Jinnah left Lahore. This was a great setback to the Muslim leaders.

Sir Chhotu Ram openly declared that religious bigots could not be successful in the Punjab. Whenever we achieve independence, we will achieve it collectively and with full cooperation with each other.

For the first time ever the bitterest opponents of Chaudhary Sahib appreciated his guts and congratulated him. Mr. Jinnah's words show the importance of Sir Chhotu Ram in the Punjab politics. He said after the episode,

"But for the adamant attitude of Sir Chhotu Ram, I would have been successful in the Punjab ".

Had Sir Chhotu Ram lived for some time more, Punjab would not have been partitioned and even if it were so, much of bloodshed ruin and ravage would not have accompanied it.

A historic letter of Sir Chhotu Ram written to Mahatma Gandhi against Rajaji Formula is reproduced below:-

Simla August 15,1942

Respected Mahatma ji,

Whatever, has been written to you in connection with Raja Ji's formula, I want to make some additions to it Being a true member of unionist Party, I say that I am against the Division of India and communalism.

Although I was at one time a staunch Congressman I opposed the demands which were made by the Congress. Now that you are busy in finding out the solution of the religious and political

tussles. I must be allowed to express my thoughts, which are equally shared by all the other Non-Muslims and also by some of the Muslims of the Punjab. With the help of powerful propaganda Muslims have been made to believe as follows: -

1. That the Hindus are selfish, greedy, unjust and anti Muslim.
2. Muslims can have no hopes of justice at the hand of the Hindu.
3. After Independence Hindus will be in majority in the centre as well as in all the provinces except Sindh, Punjab, Bengal and N.W.F.P. and Muslims will be troubled continuously from the centre.
4. The only solution for this is that by dividing India, a separate Muslim Federation may be carved out.
5. A separate Muslim Federation afterwards with the help of other Muslim states will be able to conquer India.
6. It is the duty of every Muslim to assemble under one flag to form such a state, which may be governed according to Mohammadan Law.
7. Islam does not accept the geographical and religious differences existing therein.
8. Congress is a Hindu Party and the English are against its leaders so they will help the Muslim demands.

The Point of view of the non-Muslims

On the other hand, Hindus and the Sikhs of the Punjab were much afraid of the Muslim rule. They think that India cannot be divided and if it is divided a state of civil war will continue and India will be an easy prey for any foreign power. When they looked to the past history of Muslim rule, though it may be wrong, they considered Muslim rule as some thing horrible- and terror striking to non-muslims, which will be a danger to their religion, liberty, honour, property and fundamental rights.

Rajaji's Formula

The division of the Punjab was to be accepted under this formula. It will result mass migration of the population and yet a large number of Muslims to remain in India.

Similarly a large number of Hindus will continue to be in Muslim part of India, So Rajaji's formula does not solve any religious problem. Neither is it conclusive to eliminating any political controversy.

Nor will it help to arrive at a solution to ease the religious tension. What ever Mr. Jinnah gained by first sticking to it he will use it to achieve some thing new from the British and the congress. Even in its proposed shape, Rajaji's formula seems dangerous, because it gives recognition to communalism.

The idea is that if Mr. Jinnah disapprove the Rajaji's formula the people will take him as obstinate and : uncompromising and he will lose the favour of the public, and his position will grow weaker. This is not wrong as Mr. Jinnah being totally careless of other things, cares only for the betterment of Muslims and the eviction of English which is possible only by disapproving the Rajaji formula.

The acceptance of this formula means accepting Jinnah as the only leader of the Muslims, this formula will throw before the wolves all these Muslims who have remained with Congress through thick and thin.

Criticism of Rajaji's Formula

The following are some of the objections which can not be neglected :-

1. The Hindus of the Punjab and Bengal should be properly consulted before the working committee's decision.
2. The following points should be asked to be explained by Mr. Jinnah-
   (a) What will be the geographical description of Pakistan in Bengal and the Punjab?
   (b) What type of Government will exist in Pakistan, capitalist, socialist or, communist?
   (c) An explanation of the rights of Non-Muslims in Pakistan should be demanded.
   (d) Mr. Jinnah should be frankly told that in India, services for the Muslims will not be reserved, it will depend on merit.

(f) That Sindh, Baluchistan and NW.F.P. will not be economically helped by India, that a citizen of Pakistan will not be enlisted in Indian Army and that Pakistan will have to pay its share of pension to the Indian Officers.

I hope that you will make a careful consideration of all this.

Yours faithfully.

Chhotu Ram

Partition of India and Communal Riots

All top Congress leaders remained in jail till the end of World War II and the British Government continued to suppress the people in the country. Ultimately the Congress leaders were released. A new labour Government in England decided to grant self-government to India. In September 1946, an interim cabinet composed of both Congress and Muslim league leaders was formed. Muslims League boycotted the Cabinet and did not join it.

Serious riots occurred in Calcutta, where a large number of Hindus were killed, according to a pre-planned scheme of the Muslim League. This resulted in lawlessness in a large number of towns in India. The government did not do anything to put an end to this disorder. Everywhere the Hindus in towns were awe stricken. The Muslims of Gurgaon, Alwar and Bharatpur made demands for a separate State. They freely attacked the Hindus and burnt their villages. The Jats put up a stubborn resistance to their activities and began to take revenge.

It practically took the shape of pitched battle between the two camps. The British and Indian civilian officers appeared helpless and it appeared as if they were only spectators. Some troops were sent from Delhi Cantonment, but they had been no authority to interfere in the Hindu-Muslim riots. They could only fire in the air.

All the bloodshed continued for almost 9 months right in the heart of the Capital. The Muslim League was determined to bring about partition of the country at a very early date. The British also aimed at forcing the Hindu to accept partition. They also tried to

inflame the Hindu-Muslim enmity to such an extent, that on their leaving India the aftermath of their divide and rule policy might grow to such an extent that both the parties be forced to call the British back, that is, they might go by one door and creep again in by another.

In the areas of Delhi, Muslims, who were in a majority, went on attacking Hindus who happened to pass through their areas.

In March 1947 I also happened to go to the Hamdard Dawakhana, Delhi to purchase some medicines and I happened to go through a Muslim area Having served in army, I did not know what fear was - and carried only a leather covered iron rod in my hand. The Muslim employees of the Dawakhana looked at me with surprise and one of them asked me "Why have you come".

I replied "Just to purchase some medicine."

Then he asked me'; "You appear to be a servicemen', to which I replied "Yes, I am a pensioner".

Soon came another queries, "Are you alone?" The man then reminded me that those were bad days and that one should not have come after all".

He enquired if I had a revolver with me., I showed them my stuff and said that was the only weapon with me. Then some people collected round me and gave me a chair and asked me what the latest position was in the rural areas-" and why I should not try to bring about better relations between the Hindus and the Muslims ? " I told them frankly that the Muslims from the urban areas had been led astray by the Muslim League and it would have bitter consequences. The Hindus from the urban areas had been exploiting the rural people and that too was a terrible mistake. The rural population was not afraid of riots. If riots occurred they would plunder 'both the Hindu and the Muslim capitalists of the towns'

I made it clear to them that they were not afraid of the Muslim daggers. I went on telling them that they had no idea of the vast strength of the-, rural people who would just butcher the muslims in the towns, that they were only afraid of the bullet of the British Army and the truth was that British were helping the Muslims.

Those Muslim employees of Lal Kuan Dawakhana nodded their heads and accepted whatever I had told them. Of course they said that all Muslims were not so bad and they advised me to return home carefully. The Hindu leaders fully appreciated the British diplomacy and they were keen to check the spread of riotous conditions. The Muslims killed One day in Rohtak alone 15 Hindus. The Deputy Commissioner of Rohtak was a Mohammadan, Lal Hussain.

The rural people in the adjacent part of Rohtak got aroused. My village was at a distance of 25 miles from Rohtak but my children were studying in the Jat School Rohtak. On learning of these disturbed conditions in Rohtak, I reached, there with my gun and revolver by the night train. A number of armed Jats had gathered in Rohtak that night and they appeared determined to attack and butcher the Muslims. But then some Jat Leaders, who had been requested by the Deputy Commissioner, some retired Army persons and Muslim Rajputs requested them to be peaceful and by making some promises succeeded in sending them away.

On 15 August 1947 India was given full independence. Most of the British hard left India about one month before. Riots continued unabated. Hindus and Sikhs did not lag behind in taking revenge from the Muslims. Corpses of Muslims were lying rotting on the streets and in the jungles. Train compartments often brought a large number of dead bodies of Muslims and so was the case with Hindus coming from Pakistan. Such unfortunate events happened and despite of Government's best efforts, lawlessness continued to prevail for a long time.

Sikh Jats

Guru Nanak Devji founded the Sikh Panth. He was a great Sant. He had a propensity towards meditation. At the time of his birth there was great rivalry and dissension amongst Hindus and Muslims. Then old religion Buddhism had become defunct in India. They could not bring themselves to believe in Pauranic Mat and Idol worship so they had started following various saints. Initially the saints used to believe in and preach the worship of only one God but later they also got influenced by Pauranic Mat and came down to idol worship throwing Jats in a religious

quandary. Guru Nanak Ji realized these shortcomings and started preaching correct ideologies and condemning superstitions. He emphasized Hindu Muslim unity. His preaching were the essence of Vedic philosophy, and free from the bonds of rigid tenets of any religion. His philosophy appealed to the Jats who for a long time had been devoid of proper religious guidance. A large number of Jats became a follower of the Panth. Jat Sikhs have always been the backbone of Sikh community and have provided most of Gurus and Rulers.

Guru Nanak was a Karam Yogi. He stuck to his household and yet he had renounced attachments. He did not make the seat of Guru hereditary and instead of making either of his two sons his successor selected a suitable person Shri Angad Dev Ji from the Panth. After this, two more Gurus were similarly selected on the basis of merit, but later this procedure was discarded and the succession of Gurus was relegated to hierarchy. Guru Arjun Dev collected large sums of money from the Panth as offerings and used it for feeding the poor and for the uplift of the Panth. The Golden temple of Amritsar was also constructed with this money.

Guru Arjun Dev gave a rebel Prince of Shah Jehan shelter. Islam was not making any progress in Punjab because of the popularity of Sikh preaching. It was because of these reasons the Muslim Emperor started harassing Guru Arjun Dev, as a result of which he submerged himself in a state of Samadhi in River Ravi. The succession of Guru inspite of being hereditary did not affect the reverence of people for them.

Non violence was, however, no longer found to be in the interests of the Panth. People developed a spirited antagonism against Muslims and their rule and took up arms in self-defence. Gurus created armed bands for the protection of the Panth and also their own.

On the other hand, Gurus became rich and started living like kings. People called them Sache Padshah. The Emperor naturally did not like it. The Panth mostly comprised of rural and martial people. The Emperor, therefore, started regarding the Panth as a future Source of trouble and, therefore increased hardship on them. To continue their struggle Sikhs constructed a fort at Amritsar. Consequent to this Emperor Jahangir placed the Sixth

Guru Hargobind under detention in Gwalior fort. The ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur was summoned by Aurangzeb to Delhi and was beheaded. Gurudwara Sis Ganj has been erected in his memory. The charge was that he had written some anti Muslim Couplets.

Reformation and Revolution in Sikh Panth

After the Martyrdom of IX th Guru Tegh Bahadur Guru Govind Singh came into power as X th Guru when still in his teens. He had been brought up in an atmosphere of heroism. He was a marksman and an excellent horseman. Hunting was his favorite pastime. He promised to take revenge for his father's death from the King and in view of this he performed the ceremony of Five 'Kakas' by giving Amrit to his disciples and prepared the Panth to rise against the King. With his 'Gurubani' given below he infused a spirit and determination in his followers: -

Sawa Lakh Se Ek Laraon

Chiryon Kolon Baz Taraon

Tab Gobind Singh Nam Dharaon' (I will make each one of my men fights against a hundred and twenty five thousand

I will make sparrows frighten hawks,

Only then I will consider myself worthy of my name, Gobind Singh)

The Xth Guru held a 'sammelan' (assembly) at Anandpur in 1703. The Hindu Rajas of neighboring hilly regions taking it as a threat clashed with Sikhs but were defeated. They asked for help from Delhi. The ruler of Sirhind came to their help. The Sikhs had by now captured the fort of Chamkor and a fierce battle ensued. In this battle the two elder sons of Guru Govind Singh were killed and the two younger ones were captured along with their Grand Mother and they were buried alive in a wall mercilessly at Sirhind. The Grand Mother of these children committed suicide by jumping from the roof. This tragedy occurred in about 1703 or 1704.

After a pause, in 1706 the Sikhs again had another battle with the Royal Army at Muktsar in which the Sikhs were crushed.

Aurangzeb died on 3 Mar 1707 and his three sons indulged in a war of succession. In Nov 1708, Guru Gobind Singh followed

Bahadur Shah's forces marching towards Deccan. He met Banda Bairagi Madhodas at Nander. He found the Banda Bairagi capable of leading the Panth, and persuaded him to come to Punjab. While on his way to Punjab, Banda Bairagi broke his journey at Sehri Khanda a Jat village of Dahiya Gotra, 20 miles west of Delhi. From there he dispatched letters to all the Jathedars of the Panth to concentrate forthwith. He planned to attack and loot the Royal treasury by and by the Sikhs started arriving and the strength of the force rose to 1400$. He attached Samana, overran Sadhora, Kunjpura etc and finally overpowered and killed the Ruler of Sirhind named Wazirkhan. The people who had taken active part in the conspiracy against Guru Govind Singh and his sons were searched for and sentenced one by one. By 1713, he succeeded in subjugating the whole of Punjab, North of Lahore. The internecine war for succession to the throne of Delhi proved a blessing for Banda Bairagi. By 1713, four successively ascended the throne in four years Farrukh Siyyar, and on ascending the throne pledged to suppress the Sikh revolt.

Baba Banda Bairagi had also by now transgressed his path Being a 'Sanyasi', indulged in plural marriage one in 1712 and the second in 1714. As a result of these marriages, he became engrossed in worldly affairs. Rather to wage guerrilla warfare, He constructed a fort at Garhi Nangla near Gurdaspur and assembled his force in it. The royal force besieged Garhi and cut off all communication and supplies. The occupants of the Garhi were reduced to skeletons due to lack of food. The royal forces entered the fort without resistance. Banda Bairagi was captured with his wife, 3 years old son Kanwar Ajit Singh and 700 other followers and all of them were chained and brought to Delhi, where they were mercilessly butchered in 1716.

After that a royal firman was issued according to which any body wearing a beard would be killed without reasons. The Sikh was scattered and their actions were limited to defending themselves by 'Jatha 'Bandit for 40 years In the meantime the Mogul Government was confronting unfavorable developments.

In 1739 Nadir Shah the Shepherd overran Delhi and took away most of the wealth, the peacock throne and the famous diamond Koh-l-Noor. The power of the King of Delhi diminished

Rohilkhand; Oudh and other provinces declared themselves independent. There also emerged a mighty Jat kingdom at Bharatpur. Ahmed Shah Abdali, the successor of Nadir Shah attacked Punjab and Kashmir three times from 1748 to 1759 and occupied these states. At the same time Marathas captured Lahore. There was an upheaval in Punjab, and the Sikhs once again got a chance to concentrate and regain their lost prestige and pride.

The Sikhs in Power

Ahmed Shah Abdali was aware of the rising Maratha power. He marched against them overran Aligarh and concentrated at Panipat. He appealed to all Muslim rulers to unite themselves against Marathas in the name of Islam. Marathas advanced with an Army of 60,000, to meet Abdali. The Marathas also sought help from all Hindu Rajas, but unfortunately none of them gave any favourable response except Jat Raja Suraj Mal of Bharatpur. In an operational conference held at Delhi Raja Suraj Mal gave a valuable advice to Marathas to avoid pitched battles, wage guerilla warfare to harass and exhaust Abdali's forces and then gives a final crushing blow. To implement this scheme, they would be required to leave their women and heavy baggage. Out of the battlefield across River Chambal. But the narrow-minded Marathas Chief Bhau took it as an affront to his strategic ability and rejected this proposal.

Raja Suraj Mal returned with his force to Bharatpur. Both the armies remained encamped at Panipat for eight months 8 miles apart from each other. Both the forces shirked to take the initiative to attack. The soldiers of these armies, particularly Marathas were not getting adequate rations and pay. The rations for Abdali's forces were supplied from all the territories of Muslim Nawabs, whereas the Marathas were only getting the rations and fodder from Patiala. Abdali appreciated the source of supply through Patiala and he won over Sardar Alha Singh of Patiala by restoration of his lost territory. The Maharattas were compelled to attack, and were badly defeated. This resulted in the downfall of Maratha power. Abdali had also suffered colossal losses, which rendered him incapable of re-entering India; this battle was fought in l761. A rebellion flared up in the Punjab at that time giving another chance to the Sikh Jathedars to establish themselves an army, in the shape of their 12 Misals.

The Misals of The Sikhs

Having broken off from Banda's subordination the chief Sardars conquered different regions of the Punjab with the help of their followers and established, twelve small kingdoms, which were known by the name of Misals. All these Misals were conquered later by Ranjit Singh.

1) The Bhangi Misal

The leather of this Misal was Sardar Hari Singh Dhillon. The Bhangis derive their name from their addiction to 'Bhang'. The capital of this Misal was Amritsar, Poothvar, Jhung, Pindi ghep, Bheerakhusab, Rawalpindi, Hazara, Chinyiot, Gujral, Multan, Sharanpure, Jagadhri, Daodkhel, Dholia, Jidran, Dera Ismail Khan, Bhawalpur, Sunehra, Suryati, Beerwal and Karnala were included in his kingdom. Jhanda Singh son of Hari Singh crossed River Attak and defeated the Pathans. The heavy gun of Ahmed Shah Abdali, which was in the possession of the Subedar of Lahore, was snatched away from the pathans and was brought to Amritsar. This was called 'Bhangian. The last chief of this Misal was Sardar Gujar Singh who was defeated by Ranjit Singh.

2) The Kanhiya Misals

Kanhiya Singh was this leader of the Misal. Bhrewal was its stronghold. The territory of Jammu and Pathankot was under his rule. The annual income from this Misal was forty Lakhs. Kalanaur, Bhatala, Sohiyan Fathegarh, Ajnala, Pathankot, Gurdaspur were also the important possessions of the Kanhiyas. Ranjit Singh was married into this Misal.

3) The Nakkal Misal

The leader of this Misal belonged to Nakka, Bhunewal, was its capital. Hira Singh Sidhu was the founder of this Misal.

This Misal had a large army numbering sixty thousand Ranjit Singh was married into this Misal also. Ranjit Singh took this territory away from a careless chief and handed it over to his nephew Kharak Singh.

4) The Dule Walia Misal

Tara Singh Gheba was the founder of this Misal. He was a far-sighted man He had predicted that the young man (Ranjit

Singh) would disembody all the Misals. In view of this he began to give charity to the poor and needy persons. He had an army of 6,000 soldiers and annual income from the Misal was twenty Lakh Rupees.

The important possessions of this Misal were Kheri Khamane, Sialiba, Adhran, Rupar, Dharam kot, Ghanghorana, Bundewal, Beccani, Siahkot, Nakodar. The Chief of this Misal plundered the territories across River Jamuna. They took many guns from the Red Fort of Delhi. This Misal was also annexed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

5) The Kaporian Misal

The leader of this Misal was Kapora Singh. He hailed from village Sarki. The founder of this Misal was Sham Singh. The annual income of this Misal was forty Lakhs and the standing army was thirteen thousand. Sardar Sham Singh invaded Nadir Shah and occupied the territory across River Sutlej.

He defeated the Nawabs of Jalalabad and Loharu. He also fought against George Thompson and having crossed the River Jamuna. invaded and plundered Koil,(Aligarh) Hathras. Ghaziabad, Rampur, Bareilly, KashGanj, and Chandosi etc. Sardar Bhaghail Singh got his territory back from Raja Amar Singh of Patiala after a long and tough fight. He received fifty thousand Rupees cash from Akbar II and received the royal word, to get the Gurudwara Sis Ganj completed. Bhagail Singh remained peacefully in Haryana till his last days with Kaithal as his Capital.

6) The Kalsa Misal

This Misal was a branch of Larsian. The founder of this Misal was Sardar Gurbax Singh of Ralsian Village. His son was Jodh Singh.

7) The Faizal Purian Misal

The leader of this Misal was Chaudhary Daleep Singh who was a true follower of the Panth, The annual income of this Misal was five Lakh. Daleep Singh, himself received Pahul from Guru Gobind Singh. His son Kapura Singh converted all the Jats of these territories into Sikhs. His son Budh Singh constructed the sacred tank of Taran Taran at a cost of Rupees one lakh.

8) The RamGarhia Misal

The leader and founder of this Misals was Jassa Singh Tarkhan, Ramgarhia, This misal was as big as the Bhangi Misal.

Sardar Jassa Singh was very vain and haughty. Maharaja Ranjit Singh put him into prison but later pardoned him and gave him a high rank in his army.

9) The Nishanian Wali Misal

The leaders of this Misal were brave and fearless. During the invasions they led the army as an advanced guard with the insignia of the Panth. Their strong hold was Ambala. They got Lakhs of Rupees annually as the share of the Government. Singhwala, Khanna, Doraha, Sandm, Zika, Ambala, Jhoran, Shahabad and Lashkari Khan were their Parganas.

10) The Shahidan Waif Misal

Eight chiefs of this misal were killed one after an-other while serving the Panth. They helped Guru Gobind Singh and Banda Bahadur whole heartedly against Nawab Jehan Khan. Deep Singh1 Sindhu, Gurubax Singh, Suddha Singh, Buddha Singh, Sher Singh, Durga Singh, Basant Singh and Hira Singh were the chief who laid their lives for the Panth.

11) The Ahluwalia Misal

The leader of this Misal was Sandhu Singh, a Jat of the 'Kalal' or distiller caste. Butthe true founder was Jassa Singh Ahluwalia so thisMisal was named after him as Ahluwalian Misal. This hisal lost its existence after the war of the Sikhs with the British.

12) The Sukar Chakian Misal

Begha Mal Bhathi belonged to Suker Chak village. He was the founder of this Misal. Afterwards, Budha Singh, Charat Singh, Sardar Maha Singh held the reins of 'Sardari'. The most powerful of the Sukar Chakia Misal was Ranjit Singh son of Maha Singh. He conquered all the Misals and founded the Sikh State with Lahore as its Capital. He was called the 'Lion of the Punjab'.

Budha Singh was the first Sikh who receieved Pahul from Guru Gobind Singh. Donda Singh was the second brother of Charat Singh, whose heirs were known as Sindhan Wala.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh

Maharaja Ranjit Singh (Punjab) ascended the throne at the age of 11 years and his mother Raj Kaur looked after the administration during his minority. His father-in-Law Jai Singh who belonged to Kanhiyan Misal had also died. His Mother-in-law Sada Kaur proved to be a lady of great courage and sagacity. She used to put on a Man's robe and bear arms and became the leader of the troops of both the misa's. Gradually they began to annex the territory belonging to other Misals and by the time Ranjit Singh grew up his territory had extended considerably.

In 1794 Shah Zaman, grand son of Ahmad Shah Durani attacked and occupied Lahore. He returned only because of the fear of an invasion by the Iranians and Lahore was reoccupied by the Sardars of the Bhangian Misal. Shah Zaman had left behind 12 heavy euns because of floods in the river Jhelum.

Ranjit Singh succeeded in taking 8 guns out of the river and sent them to Shah Zaman in Kabul. For this he was given the title of Raja and also the permission to occupy Lahore. First of all Ranjit Singh decided to subjugate two big Misals of Bhangian and Ramgarhian. Thereafter he succeeded in defeating all the other Misals and various Nawabs.

The British who in by then become master of the greater part of India except the Punjab were very farsighted rulers. They immediately made friendship with Ranjit Singh and thus prevented his expansion towards the East. This agreement was made on 25th April 1809. Thereafter Raja Ranjit Singh spent all his life in fighting against the Pathans and making them acknowledge his supremacy. The Pathan women used to frighten their children by the name of Hari Singh Nalwa.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was devotee of Sadhus. He died June 1839. His army included Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs.

In administration he did not like any interference by the Jats. With this policy, he committed a big mistake. He appointed three Dogra Sardars Dhyan Singh, Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh, belonging to the same family as the sole administrators both in civil and military affairs. After the death of Ranjit Singh they were responsible for civil war amongst the Sikhs, but ultimately the

Dogra Sardars carved out the kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir for themselves.

After the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh his eldest son Kanwar Kharak Singh ascended the throne. He was not a capable man, but he did not permit his minister Dhyan Singh to do what he liked. At the age of 28, Kharak Singh was declared insance and then got murdered. It is said that he was murdered by Dhyan Singh. When they returned after cremating the body of Raja Kharak Singh, a door fell mysteriously on the head of Naunihal Singh and he died instantaneously.

Thereafter, Dhayan Singh suceeded in convincing the Rani of Kharak Singk that the throne should not go to Sher Singh. It was announced that the Rani of Naunihal Singh was pregnant and Sher Singh's son Pratap Singh should not be considered the claimant to the throne. It was also decided that Sher Singh should retire to his jagir in Patiala. He accepted it gladly.

In the absence of Sher Singh, Sardar Saindha Walia and Dhyan Singh started conspiracies with the help of the British. Thereupon, Sher Singh decided to seize the throne forcibly. Rani Zidhan was killed by a maid servant. A year after this event Sardar Lahana Singh and Ajit Singh Sidhanwalia,who were cousins of Ranjit Sineh, killed Sher Singh and Pratap Singh and placed Daleep Singh, the youngest son of Ranjit Singh, on the throne and put a Tilak on his forehead with the blood of their fingers. Daleep Singh's mother Rani Chand Kaur, became his guardian and Hira Singh, son of Dhyan Singh, became the minister. But he was killed by the Sikh Sardars. On hearing this news, an elder brother of Daleep Singh, named Pishora Singh declared himself an independent ruler in the fort of Attock. Mantri Jawahar Singh, grandson, of last Mantri Dhyan Singh, sent Sardar Chattur Singh Attariwala, and Tiwana Sardar Fateh Khan Motiyanwala against Pishora Singh but later they joined with Pishora Singh promising him the throne of Lahore.

One night, however, they throttled him to death in his camp. Later on, these two Sardars were also killed by other Sikhs.

Ultimately there was a revolt in the army of Daleep Singh and the soldiers demanded higher wages. His clever mother, Chand

Kaur, thought it best to bring the army into conflict with the British and provoked them to invade British territory across the river Satluj and thus gain higher wages. At the same time she sent a letter to British Governor informing him how the rebel troops were marching against the British and warned them that if after conquering those forces they would try to occupy her territory across the river Satluj she would not be responsible for the consequences. In December 1845 there was a severe battle at Mudki between the British and the Sikh troops, in which the British came out victorious.

The next battle at Firoz Shah was a draw. In 1846, Sir Henry Smith defeated the Sikhs at Aliwal- In 1847, there was another battle at Sobraon in which the Sikhs lost 8,000 soldiers and the British 2500. The Sikhs had to give away their territory between the rivers Bias and Satluj, as war indemnity to the British.

Jammu and Kashmir was taken over by Gulab Singh in return for one crore of Rupees.

Thereafter, MoolRaj, Governor of Multan killed two British Officers.

Lord Lake marched against him with 74,000 troops and 40 guns. The Sikhs were supported by Mohammed Kabuli. In this war 24th Regiment of the British Army suffered heavy losses. Ultimately in the battle of Gujrat the Sikhs were defeated and the British occupied the Sikh kingdom.

Maharaja Daleep Singh was given a handsome pension and sent away to England, where he lived for the rest of his life.

States and Principalities of Jat Sikhs

Phulkian Dynasty

The gotra of this royal dynasty is Sidhu. Sidhu Brar belonged to the Bhati gotra. According to their history, their ancestors, having been ousted from Ghazni, had come to India in Yudhishthiri Samvat 3008. The leader was either Bhattrak, the founder of Bhati gotra, or his father. Bhatinda and Bhatner(Bhatnair) were named after him. Among the successors of Sidhu, Phool was a lucky man and his decendants founded various states like Nabha, Patiala, Jind, Bhadaur, Bhalaur, Nodhgarh, Faridkot, Malodh etc.

1) Patiala State

Patiala was one of the four big states of India. When the leaders of the Sikh Panth, taking advantage of the weakness of the Mughul dynasty, became determined to extend their power, one of their leaders was Alha Singh, son of Chaudhary Rama, who fought against Ahmed Shah Abdali. 20,000 of his followers were killed.

To earn his friendship Ahmed Shah returned his territory. After Abdali's return to Kabul, Allha Singh annexed the territory of Sirhind also His son, Sardar Amer Singh, got the title of Raja from_KabuI.

Raja Karan Singh of this dynasty helped the British to suppress the 1857 uprising. As a reward states Kaithal and Baghat and several Parganas belonging to Nawab of Jhajjar were given to him.

Maharaja Bhupinder Singh, seventh in the dynasty occupied a high place among other princes. He brought about improvement in all spheres. The Patiala forces secured high position in games under his leadership.

After his death, his son Yadvendra Singh succeeded to the throne and proved to be a very good ruler and administrator. During his rule the state merged in the Indian Union.

2) Jind State

Phool's grandson, Sardar Gajpal Singh, was the founder of this state. He married his daughter who was the mother of Ranjit Singh to Sardar Mahan Singh Sukharchakiya.

1772 AD Emperor Shah Alam gave him the title of Raja. In 1773 he was victorious in the battle of Sirhind and annexed certain parts of Sirhind. Later he also seized Rohtak and Dadri. As a reward of helping the British in the 1857 uprisisng, Lord Lake granted him various parganas of Gohana.

3) Nabha State

Sardar Hamir Singh, in the fourth generation of Phool, obtained a Jagir in Kapurgarh and Sangrur belonging to Chaudhary Taloka.

After the conquest of Sirhind the pargana of Molodhgarh came into his share. The Annual income of this state was Rs. 1,30,000.

4) Faridkot State

Faridkot state came into existence in the 12th generation of Phool and was founded, in 1600 AD by Kapur Singh. His grandson, Amir Singh, extended the territories. He fought two wars against Ranjit Singh. The annual income of this state was Rs 3,54,800.

The Randhawa Chiefs Of Talwandi

In 1640 AD Chaudhary Randhir Chand founded the village Bhandahi on arrival from Rajputana (Rajastana) and his grandson Targha founded Talwandi. In the fourth dynasty Pradhan Chand's son Santosh Singh adopted Sikhism.

Working in the Jattha of Sardar Jai Singh he obtained Banga Talwandi as a Jagir.

Randhawa Chief of Khundha

The ancestor of this dynasty, Randhawa, was very famous in Rajasthan. His son. Kajal Singh, became the leader of a Jattha in Patiala and worked with enthusiasm and occupied the Parganas of Kowshera, Jafarwal, Khurha and Shahpur.

The Mann Chiefs Of Bhaga

Chaudhary Amar Singh Mann, resident of Bhaga joined the Kanhaiya Misal and annexed the Pargana, of Sokalgarh, Sujanpur Dharmakot and Dharampur.

The Mann Chiefs Of Mughul Chak

Chaudhary Ladha Mann of this dynasty, came from Sidipur Lowa in Rohtak district and settled down in Gujaranwala. He founded a small village named Maina.

Thereafter, he became the Chaudhary of 22 villages.

Sardar Mahatab Singh of this dynasty occupied 82 villages due to the weakness of the Mughal Emperor. He was a member of the Bhangi Misal.

Siddhu Chief of Saranwali

The leader of this dynasty, Hasan, fought fierce battles against the people of Kariya community. Later, they settled down in

Gurdaspur and his widow daughter was married to Ranjit Singh's elder son Kharak Singh.

The annual income of this Jagir was Rs. 36,000.

Sindhu Chiefs Of Badala

Sardar Mochal Singh, leader of this dynasty, founded the village of Mochal near Uska. After severalgenerations Chaudhary Durga Das was appointed Chaudhary on behalf of the Moghuls. Later Sardar Mahtab Singh occupied 82 villages due to the weakness of the Mughal emperor. He was a member of Bhangi Misal.

Chiefs Of Kalas Bazwa

Chaudhary Manga was a famous leader of this dynasty.

Both Sikh and Muslim descendants of Chaudhary Manga worship at his fortress.

His son, Kalas, obtained a Jagir. Dewan Singh son of Jai Chand Jogi, in this dynasty adopted Sikhism and was an important leader of the Bhangian Misal. Sardar Hari Singh Dhillon adopted him as his Dharmputra.

In 1816 AD the daughter of Sardar Joth Sngh was married to Ranjit Singh, son of Kharak Singh.

3

MADAM RUSTOM BHIKAIJI CAMA

Bhikaiji Rustom Cama (Madam Cama, Madame Cama) (September 24, 1861 - August 13, 1936) was a prominent figure in the Indian Nationalist Movement.

Bhikaiji Rustom Cama was born Bhikai Sorab Patel on 24th September, 1861 in Bombay (now Mumbai) into a large, well-off Parsi family. Her parents, Sorabji and Jaijibai Patel, were well-known in the city, where her father Sorabji Framji Patel - a lawyer by training and a merchant by profession - was an influential member of the Parsi community. The father doted on his little girl, and affectionately called her "Munni".

Like many Parsi girls of the time, Bhikaiji attended Alexandra Native Girl's English Institution. Bhikaiji was by all accounts a diligent, disciplined child, with a flair for languages and an interest in the personalities of the nationalist movement(s).

On August 3, 1885, she married Rustom Cama, a wealthy, pro-British lawyer with a desire to enter politics. It was not a happy marriage, and Bhikaiji spent most of her time and energy in philanthropic activities and social work.

In October 1896, the Bombay Presidency was first hit by famine, and shortly thereafter by bubonic plague. Bhikaiji joined one of the many teams working out of Grant Medical College (which would subsequently become Haffkine's plague vaccine research center), in an effort to provide care for the afflicted, and (later) to inoculate the healthy.

She contracted the plague herself, but survived. Severely weakened, she set sail for Europe for subsequent medical care and

recuperation in 1902. In London, she received word that her return to India would be prevented unless she would sign a statement promising not to participate in nationalist activities. She refused, and remained in exile in Europe until shortly before her death (at Parsi General Hospital in Bombay) in 1936.

While in London, she served as private secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji, the first Asian to be elected to the British House of Commons, and the first to publicly demand independence from Great Britain.

In Paris she came in contact with other notable members of the movement for Indian sovereignty, and would come to clandestinely (in Holland) publish and distribute revolutionary literature for the movement. While in France, the British Government requested her extradition, but the French Government refused to cooperate. In return, the British Government seized Cama's inheritance. Lenin reportedly invited her to reside in Russia, but she did not accept.

Influenced by Christabel Pankhurst and the Suffragette movement, Bhikaiji Cama was vehement in her support for gender equality. Speaking in Cairo, Egypt in 1910, she asked, "I see here the representatives of only half the population of Egypt. May I ask where is the other half? Sons of Egypt, where are the daughters of Egypt? Where are your mothers and sisters? Your wives and daughters?"

FLAG RAISED BY BHIKAIJI CAMA IN STUTTGART

Bhikaiji Cama is best known for having unfurled a "Flag of Indian Independence" on August 22, 1907, at the International Socialist Conference in Stuttgart, Germany. That flag, a slight modification of the Calcutta Flag, was co-designed by Cama, Veer Savarkar and Shyamji Krishna Varma, and would later serve as a template upon which the current national flag of India is based.

At the conference, she described the devastating effects of a famine that had struck the subcontinent, and made an appeal for human rights, equality and for Indian independence:

> *This flag is of India's independence. Behold, it is born. It is already sanctified by the blood of martyred Indian youth. I call*

upon you, gentlemen, to rise and salute the flag of Indian independence. In the name of this flag I appeal to lovers of freedom all over the world to cooperate with this flag in freeing one-fifth of the human race."

One nationalist legend involving Bhikaiji Cama goes like this:

"Veer Savarkar was in custody (aboard the "Morena") for his nationalist stance. As the story goes, Savarkar evaded his captors and jumped overboard in an attempt to escape. Cama saw him go overboard, but misunderstood it to be an accident. She jumped in after him (to save him as she thought), and attracted enough attention to result in Savarkar's recapture."

Another variation of the story (possibly true), goes like this:

"Veer Savarkar had been arrested in London for nationalist activities and was on his way back to India for trial. Aboard the "Morena" in Marseilles Harbour, he wiggled out of a porthole window and jumped into the sea. Reaching shore, he expected to find Cama and others waiting for him (who got there late), but ran into the local constabulary instead. Unable to communicate his predicament to the French authorities without Cama's help, he was returned to British custody."

Several Indian cities have streets and places named after Bhikaiji Cama. On January 26th 1962, the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department issued a stamp in her honor. The Indian Coast Guard has a ship named after her.

AN ICON OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE ASPIRATIONS

In the first part of the 20th century, Poet Aaraf Ghazvini, a symbol of Iranian Nationalism agonizing on the conditions of his motherland composed a very touching poem. In his composition, referring to the group of Iranians who had fled their motherland to the safety of the Indian Subcontinent in light of the fall of their motherland to the invading Arab armies centuries earlier, Aaraf projects that rather than submit to tyranny, these noble Iranian (his reference) chose to abandon their motherland. As the high point of his composition in projecting his aspiration for the sentiments of the descendents of those refugees from Iran in the context of Colonial India of his days, Aaraf goes on to state:

"And I am sure in the heart of those noble Iranians

The thought rings, When will India gain its independence"

Years earlier in August 22, 1907, delegates from different countries had gathered in Stuttgart, Germany, for the 2nd international Socialist Congress. A woman delegate rose to speak, a good-looking lady dressed in a sari with a border of delicate embroidery, the edge draped demurely over her head. Her speed however was far from demure, as she hurled defiance at the might of British Empire. The audience, captivated by her presence and personality was held spellbound by the sincerity, logic and emotion of her fiery speech. Describing the atrocities of British imperialism and the agony of her countrymen, she appealed to the audience to cooperate in freeing from slavery one-fifth of the whole human race inhabiting that oppressed country. With a dramatic gesture, amid thunderous cheers, she unfurled a tricolor flag.

That lady, who dared to defy the might of an Empire, who made history by unfurling India's first national flag on foreign soil and thus succeeded in focusing world attention on India's plight, was an Indian, a Zarathushti from Mumbai, Bhikaiji Rustom Cama. She was recognized as one of the outstanding Indian revolutionaries in Europe, who came to be known as the High Priestess of Indian nationalism. Her portrait appeared in French newspapers along with Joan of Arc.

Bhikhaiji was born on September 24, 1861, in an affluent Parsi Zoroastrian family in Bombay, to Sorabji and Jaijibai Patel, and was educated at the Alexandra Native Girl's English Institution. Her marriage was arranged with Rustam Cama, the son of renowned Oriental scholar, Kharshedji Cama, in 1885. Not being content in her household role, she used to say that she was also wedded "to the uplift of my countrymen, both social and political".

Enthusiastically following the proceedings of the first session of the Indian National Congress, Bhikhaiji later grasped its importance and opportunity. When the plague epidemic broke out in Bombay in 1896, she committed herself to the task of nursing the sick and dying. Her involvement with the plague victims and her cognizance of the suffering caused by famine and economic depression made a deep and lasting impression on her

psyche. She became involved in politics and determined to fight to liberate India from foreign rule.

Due to health problems Bhikhaiji went to England in 1902 to obtain an operation and medical treatment. During her stay abroad, from 1902 to 1907, she underwent a dramatic advance in her political activism, earning the name 'Mother of the Revolution'. She started her political work in England under the guidance of the Grand Old Man of India, Dadabhai Naoroji. She campaigned for Dadabhai's election to the British House of Commons, and met many eminent Indians involved in India's freedom struggle.

During Savarkar's presidential address at the 19th session of the Akhil Bharatiya Hindu Mahasabha at Karnavati (Ahmedabad) in 1937, he praised the Parsi community by saying "The Parsis have ever been working shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus against the English domination. They are no fanatics. From the great Dadabhai Naoroji to the renowned revolutionary lady Madame Cama, the Parsis have contributed their quota of true patriots, nor have they displayed any but goodwill towards the Hindu nation, which to them has proved a saviour of their race. Culturally too they are most akin to us".

Bhikhaiji Cama's hour of glory was at the Second International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, Germany on August 22, 1907, attended by nearly 1000 delegates from different countries. Making a mark in history, she made a brilliant speech, conveying the greetings of the Indian people who were suffering at the hands of British capitalists, and unfurled the first flag of independent India. She said "This flag is of India's independence. Behold, it is born. It is already sanctified by the blood of martyred Indian youth. I call upon you, gentlemen, to rise and salute the flag of Indian independence. In the name of this flag I appeal to lovers of freedom all over the world to cooperate with this flag in freeing one-fifth of the human race".

In her speech before unfurling the flag, she described the deteriorating economic condition of India which was suffering from the devastation of famine. She gave a strong appeal for justice, human rights and independence of the Indian people. For this act of sedition, she was exiled and deprived of income by the British government, and had to live for 33 years in England and

France, until she was physically handicapped by a paralytic stroke and brought back to India by Sir Cowasji Jehangir in November 1935, where she died on August 13, 1936.

Bhikhaiji Cama lived her life as a deeply religious person who believed in the teachings of Prophet Zarathushtra to fight against injustice. She donated her personal assets to the Avabai Petit Orphanage for girls, and Rs. 54,000 to her family temple, the Framji Nusserwanjee Patel Agiary at Mazgaon, where a ceremony is performed every year to remember her life as a courageous and true Zarathushtrian and patriot.

> *"This flag is of Indian Independence! Behold, it is born! It has been made sacred by the blood of young Indians who sacrificed their lives. I call upon you, gentlemen to rise and salute this flag of Indian Independence. In the name of this flag, I appeal to lovers of freedom all over the world to support this flag."*
> *- B. Cama , Stuttgart, Germany, 1907*

These were the emotional words of a frail Indian lady, with fire inside and indomitable confidence and patriotic feeling for motherland, India. The year was 1907 and the time, 3rd week of August.

The Indian independence was 40 years away, and the world was not fully aware of the burning patriotism of hundreds and thousands of young Indians who were ready to lay down their lives for the sake of freedom for their country. The British were trying their best to put down the revolutionaries by bringing in ordinances, bans and arrests for life on the basis of treason. Treason was the greatest "crime" of the Indian which ensured a minimum of six years of black waters (kalapani) or deportation to Andaman and harsh punishment.

It was hence, no mean achievement of Madam Cama, when she unfurled the first National Flag at the International Socialist Conference in Stuttgart (Germany) in 1907. A thousand representatives from several countries were attending. An Indian lady in a colorful sari was a rare phenomena in those days and her majestic appearance and brave and clear words made everybody think that she was a Maharani or at least a princess from a native state.

She excelled many Maharanis (queens) of her time in her poise and demeanor. She fought for freedom till the last in her own way, and helped innumerable revolutionaries with money and materials across the sea as she has settled down in London/ Paris at the beginning of this century. Her life and mission make a fascinating reading, showing the important role she played in the early years of freedom struggle.

Madam Cama was born on 24th September, 1861 of rich Parsi parents. Her father was Sorabji Framji Patel, a famous merchant and man of means, had a large family. Parsis by then were in the forefront of business, education, and industry (when permitted by British) and no less in philanthropy. Young Bhikaji received good English education, but from the beginning she was a rebel, and a nationalist. She had good flair to learn languages and became proficient in arguing her country's cause in different circles at a young age.

She was married to Rustom K. R. Cama, a rich handsome social worker and lawyer. But ideologically they were poles apart. Mr. Cama adored British, loved their culture and thought they had done a lot of good to India. Madame Bhikaji, now a full fledged nationalist, always believed that British had fleeced India, and practiced worst form of imperialism. She had thousand and one reasons to present how India was kept in abject poverty by the British to help themselves to become the most powerful country in the world of that period.

Their marriage proved to incompatible. Madam Cama meanwhile plunged in several social activities. Plague broke out in Bombay Presidency at that time and she was in the forefront of voluntary team which strive to save plague victims. in the end she herself caught the deadly disease, but was save miraculously. She was left very weak and was advised to go to Europe for rest and recuperation. She left in 1902 for London which was to become her home for the rest of life.

She served as private secretary to Dadabhai Navaroji, a great Indian leader in the forefront of national movement. she came in contact with several patriots students and European Intellectuals who were sympathetic to Indian cause during this brief period. Later she herself played a dominant part in promoting freedom

struggle.The tricolor-flag Madam Cama unfurled had green, saffron, and red stripes. Red represented strength, saffron victory, and green stood for boldness and enthusiasm. there were eight lotuses representing the eight provinces and flowers represented princely states. "Vande Mataram" in Devanagari adorned central saffron stripe which meant "salutation to Mother India." The sun and the moon indicated Hindu and Muslim faiths. The flag was designed by Veer Savarkar with the help of other revolutionaries. After Stuttgart, Madam went to United States. She traveled a lot and informed Americans about Indians struggling for Independence. She told about British efforts to smother the voice of educated Indians who protested against tyranny and despotism of British who always boasted themselves as "mother of parliamentary democracy" over the world! She could be called "Mother India's first cultural representative to USA."

After returning to London she started publishing booklets on patriotic literature. Though believer in nonviolence she urged to resist unjustified violence. Tyrannical foreign rule was unjustified and she stood for Swaraj or self-rule. "March forward! We are for India. India is for Indians!" She declared. She fought for unity of Hindus and Muslims. She continued financing revolutionaries in and out of India. British were not happy with her activities and there was a plot to finish her off. Getting the wind she sailed for France.

Her Paris-home became a shelter for world revolutionaries. Even Lenin, the father of Russian revolution visited her house and exchanged views. Savarkar got all encouragement in writing the history of 1st Indian War of Independence from Cama. She helped its printing in Holland as no English publisher came forward to publish it. It was banned book but found its was to India. Smuggled ingeniously with "Don Quixote" covers! She became publisher of "Vande Mataram" a revolutionary magazine and was a distributor as well, an extremely difficult task in the days of British Espionage. Another magazine "Madan's Talwar" was also started in memory of Madanlal Dhingra who had laid down his life for the country. Both the magazines were outlawed in India and England. Madam Cama somehow found ways to send them to Indian revolution going and for self-defense.

Madam Cama also fought for the cause of women. Speaking at National Conference at Cairo, Egypt in 1910, she asked, "Where is the other half of Egypt? I see only men who represent half the country!" She stressed the role of women in building a nation.

Her attempts to save Savarkar who jumped into the ocean from the ship "Morena" near Marseilles are well known. A few minutes delay saw the famous revolutionary back into chains, a fact which Madam Cama, came to regret for life.

When First World War broke out in 1914, Madam Cama took anti-British stand and tried her best to bring in awareness among Indians about the harm brought in by fighting imperialist forces.

The British had banned her entry in India being afraid of her revolutionary past and confirmed nationalistic outlook. But the lioness was getting old and 35 years fighting on foreign land and taken its toll. She decided to return to motherland but was very ill. After reaching Bombay, she was hospitalized and died on the 13th of August 1936. A fearless woman, she brought in awareness of Indian struggle for independence in Europe and America and was instrumental in helping several revolutionaries, with finances and publishing.

She was a fiery patriot who first unfurled India's flag at an international assembly. She turned away from a life of luxury and lived in exile abroad in Europe for 29 years to serve the cause of our country's freedom.

From the early years of the 20th century, groups of Indians established centres for revolutionary activities in Europe, America and Asia. They carried on propaganda for India's independence among Indians living abroad and mobilized them for revolutionary operations. They maintained contacts with revolutionary groups in India and supplied them with revolutionary literature and even arms. During 1907 and 1914, Paris became the most important centre of Indian revolutionaries in Europe. One of the greatest revolutionaries of this period in Europe from India was Madame Cama. She brought out the Journal Bande Mataram. She and colleague S R Rana, another great freedom fighter, were in touch with other great revolutionaries like Shyamaji Krishnavarma, Veer Savarkar, V V S Iyer, Bhai Paramanand, Ajith Singh, Chambakaraman Pillai and others.

Madame Cama was born in 1861 to a well-to-do Parsi family in Bombay. One of Madame Cama's first great opportunities for doing public work was during Bombay's great plague in 1897. Without concern for her own life, Madame Cama tirelessly nursed the ill back to health, and then, like any good missionary, converted those she helped to her cause of Indian independence. Unfortunately, in that process, Madame Cama, herself, fell sick. In response, her friends and family sent her to Europe in 1902 to enable her to recover her heath.

Madame Cama's brief but meteoric political career started in London in 1902. Eventually, Madame Cama set up base in London. There, she became Dadabhai Naoroji's private secretary. He was an important Indian dignitary. Through him, Madame Cama allied herself with many patriots and began speaking against British rule.

Madame Cama became so famous and influential, that the British Government concocted an assassination or murder plot against her! When Madame Cama caught wind of this plot, she secretly escaped across the English Channel to France! She turned her French home into a secret hideaway for revolutionaries worldwide. She made friends by sending pistols disguised as Christmas gifts to Irish and Russian nationalists. As the British saw her influence abroad increase, they begged France to send her back to India. When the French government refused, the English exiled her from her motherland and seized her inheritance.

Naturally, despite all British attempts to disillusion Madame Cama, she continued championing her cause of India's freedom. In 1905, Madame Cama with other patriots, designed India's first tricolor flag. The flag had green, saffron, and red stripes. The top, green stripe had eight blooming lotuses representing India's then eight provinces. 'Bande Mataram' was written across the central, saffron stripe in Hindi. On the bottom, red stripe, a half moon was on the right and the rising sun on the left. In spite of her English education and her 35 year stay in Europe, she advocated the introduction of Hindi in the Devanagari script as an uniform language in India.

Madame Cama and other freedom fighters in Europe also established contacts with socialists in France, Germany, England

and America. Madame Cama participated in the Congress of the Second International at Stuttgart in 1907. At this international socialist conference, Madame Cama unfurled the tricolor National Flag of India which she and her friends had designed in 1905 bearing the immortal words of Bankim Chandra Chaterjee - Bande Mataram. It was hence, no mean achievement of Madam Cama, when she unfurled the first National Flag at the International Socialist Conference in Stuttgart (Germany) in 1907. A thousand representatives from several countries were attending. An Indian lady in a colorful sari was a rare phenomena in those days and Madame Cama's majestic appearance and brave and clear words made everybody think that she was a Maharani or at least a princess from a native state. There, she held up the flag and declared in a bold voice, 'This flag is of Indian Independence. Behold, it is born!...I call upon you, gentle men, to rise.. .I appeal to lovers of freedom all over the world to cooperate with this flag. Hail Bande Mataram !. Hail Bande Mataram!!'

Her passionate speech against the British tyranny in India was published at the end of August in the German Socialist paper Vorwärts.

Madan Lal Dhingra (1887 - 1909), a 22 year old engineering student studying in England, assassinated Sir Curzan Wyllie, political Aide-de-Camp to the Secretary of State for India, Lord Morley in London in 1909. He was hanged at Pentonville Prison, London, on 17 August, 1909. Before going to the gallows on that day, Madan Lal Dhingra, spoke the following inspiring words: 'I believe that a nation held down by foreign bayonets is in a perpetual state of war. Since open battle is rendered impossible to a disarmed race, I attacked by surprise.

Since guns were denied to me I drew forth my pistol and fired. Poor in health and intellect, a son like myself has nothing else to offer to the mother but his own blood. And so I have sacrificed the same on her altar. The only lesson required in India at present is to learn how to die, and the only way to teach it is by dying ourselves. My only prayer to God is that I may be re-born of the same mother and I may re-die in the same sacred cause till the cause is successful. Hail Bande Matram! Hail Bande Matram !'

When the First World War broke out in 1914, Madame Cama and S R Rana were interned in France, Indian revolutionaries like Cama, Rana and Shyamaji Krishnavarma tired to secure the help of Turkey and Germany, Britain's enemies in that war, for overthrowing the British rule from India. Berlin became their most important centre in Europe. After 1909 she published two revolutionary periodicals, Talwar and Bande Mataram from Geneva. These were smuggled into India through Pondicherry. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, who was publishing the TALWAR, was joined by Bhupendranath Dutt, Barkatulla, Champakaraman Pillai and others. They formed what is called the Berlin Committee. In the mean time, a powerful organization of Indian revolutionaries called the Ghadar Party had been formed in North America. The Ghadar Movement in America was started by Lala Hardayal, another great Punjabi leader. This Ghadar Party and the Berlin Committee, taking advantage of the I World War, organized anti British uprisings in India during the war.

According to the History Sheet of the Criminal Intelligence Office of the Home Department (Political) of the Government of India in 1913, 'She was at that time one of the recognized leaders of the revolutionary movement in Paris, and was said to be regarded by the Hindus as a reincarnation of some deity, presumably Kali'. The truth of this assertion aside, she was sympathetic to the most radical expressions of the Indian national movement.

In 1910 the British Government requested France for her extradition. When this was refused, her property in India was confiscated. Several Parsi women came under her influence and were kept under political surveillance. With the outbreak of World War I, she was interred in a camp in France, and her political activities came to an end. Madame Cama's battle cry on her heroic march to freedom was: 'March Forward! We are for India. India is for Indians! Hail and sing Bande Mataram!'

Madame Cama was a powerful orator who traveled all over the world, including the US, speaking on behalf of India's freedom under the flag and banner of Bande Mataram. She rallied foreign support for the cause of our freedom from many nations. In my view, another great achievement was that she taught Indians to

make bombs, and also sent weapons secretly to India for being deployed against the alien rulers. Whatever might be thought of her extremism it had the effect of putting across the Indian message with a force and clarity it had never had before. Conviction, courage, and integrity were her foremost characteristics which won for her the respect and admiration of a widening circle of people and beyond this the attention the Indian cause so desperately needed at that time. All who came into contact with her felt the impact of her unquenchable spirit of Independence from British rule.

Madame Cama returned to Bombay in 1931 when she was 70. She passed away in Bombay on August 13, 1936, eleven years before the birth of our freedom.

A lifetime of unparalleled adventure and influence for a woman, Madame Cama demonstrated a woman's true place in a man's world. As she, herself, declared, 'Do not forget the role of women which is also important in building a nation.'

MADAME CAMA'S CALL FOR BANDE MATARAM IN EUROPE

Many may feel that the struggle for Women's rights is a fairly modern concept. However, it is worthwhile sparing some time to reflect on one of the many women that were at the very heart of this struggle over 200 years ago. Some are known as the Suffragettes Movement, or Women's Social and Political Union. Some began in the early eighteenth century.

Born in 1861, Bombay (now Mumbai), Bhikaji Sorabji Framji Patel came from a wealthy Parsi business family. Her father was a lawyer by training and a merchant by profession was already established and highly respected within the community. She was educated at one of the best institutions in India, Alexandra Girl's School and married Rustom K R Cama aged 24.

Her husbands' views were far too placid for her future endeavours, especially during turbulent times when Indian National Congress held its first session in Bombay. There were other events taking place and the electrifying atmosphere of defiance and fight for independence that were of significant influence on this young and highly spirited individual.

Her involvement with Continental and Russian revolutionaries during the late 1890's for the struggle for an independent India and the fact, along with other freedom fighters, she helped identify the many misdeeds of the then Government. Her struggles and actions were in vain as she had to travel to England for medical treatment. This temporary set back and the fact that much of her literatures about her struggle were intervened and burned did not deter this fiery lady. Some years later (1907), at a socialist Congress in Stuttgart, she unfurled the tri-colour Indian national flag in front of an ever enthusiastic audience.

While in Britain, she continued with her vision of a free India and regularly addressed meetings at Hyde Park, India House - which soon became the nerve-centre for all forms of activity and intent with that single objective. During her short stay, before being extradited to Paris from 1909 to 1934 she grew stronger and became an highly influential figure for many activists who travelled from as far - a field as the USA, Russia, Italy and Africa, including Lenin and Shaklatvala. However, while in England, she served as a Private Secretary to the 'grand old man of India' Dadabhai Naoroji for several years during his political reign.

Due to the outbreak of the First World War and once the French became allies, the British Government applied much pressure to the French government, to arrest Madame Bhikaji Cama. In 1930 she served a three year jail sentence. Still unabated she continued fighting for her "India is for Indians!" and was greatly influenced by Naoroji's Swaraj philosophy of 'control of the self', as well the Suffragette movement. It is hard to understand that being a believer in non-violence, she had so much passion and patriotic beliefs that till her death, back in India in 1936, aged 74, she continued her struggle leaving behind a legacy that many were to follow, including Mahatma Gandhi.

THE IDEA

The idea of the tricolour as we know it was born in the mind of a Andhra Congressman, P. Venkayya of Masulipatnam. Between 1918 and 1921, Venkayya raised the question of a national flag at every session of the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi liked the idea but not the way it was conceived; as he remarked, "in his [Venkayya's]

designs I saw nothing to stir the nations to its depths". Then a North Indian patriot, Lala Hansraj, suggested that any such flag should have, as its centre-piece, the charkha, or spinning wheel. This attracted Gandhi, who told Venkayya to incorporate the feature in his design. The Mahatma also expressed the wish that the National Flag should be in three colours; red to represent the Hindus, green to represent the Muslims, and white to represent peace as well as all the other faiths of India.

At this time, Gandhi favoured having the white band on the top, followed by the green, with red coming last, signifying that the minorities came before the majority, who had the ethical responsibility for their safety and well-being. The charkha, he thought, should be placed so as to cover all three bands. Through the 1920s it became customary to hoist this flag at patriotic events. Speaking at such a ceremony in Ahmedabad in February 1929, Gandhi observed that "today, in India, some people hold that Hindus and Muslims will never get on well together, that these incompatibles can never be on good terms now or in the future, that independence here could either be for the Hindus or for the Muslims". The Mahatma himself dissented from this counsel of despair. "If this line of thinking persists," he said, "it is meaningless to hoist this national flag. You who are present here to witness the unfurling of this flag should take a vow that the Hindus, Muslims, and Christians or any other community which regards India as its home, will co-operate with one another for securing swaraj for India."

Modifications

However, in August 1931, a committee of the Congress decided to make certain changes in the design. Red was replaced by saffron, which would be placed first. The white bend would come next, in between saffron and green, to heighten the effect and "show off the whole flag to advantage". The spinning wheel was retained, but placed in the white strip alone.

Endorsing these changes, Gandhi observed that "the national flag is the symbol of non-violence and national unity to be brought about by means strictly truthful and non-violent". The tricolour, he wrote, "represents and reconciles all religions".

The next modification took place on the eve of Indian independence. A committee of the Constituent Assembly decided that while they would retain the colours and spirit of the tricolour, they needed to make some changes, if only to ensure that the flag of independent India was not identified with the Congress party alone. Finally, it was resolved that the spinning wheel would be replaced by a Asoka Chakra.

When Mahatma Gandhi first heard of this he was dismayed. "The Congress has been national from its very inception," he insisted. "It has never been sectional. It embraces all sections and all Indians." Should not "the flag under which the Congress has fought so many non-violent battles ... now be the flag of the Government of free India?" But he was ultimately persuaded of the change.

The colours remained the ones he had chosen, and with the meanings he had given them: unity, non-violence, and social harmony. The Asoka Chakra could be viewed, imaginatively, as a spinning-wheel without the spindle and spinner. As Gandhi now saw it, "looking at the wheel some may recall that Prince of Peace, King Asoka, ruler of an empire, who renounced power. He represents all faiths; he was an embodiment of compassion. Seeing the charka in his chakra adds to the glory of the Charkha. Asoka's chakra represents the eternally revolving Divine Law of Ahimsa".

Madam Cama's Role

To return now to Madam Cama. She had nothing to do with the real tiranga jhanda. But she did however once hoist a flag on foreign soil, at Stuttgart in fact, but in 1907 rather than 1903. From an account circulating in cyberspace it seems that this too was an attempt to represent Hindu-Muslim harmony - its colours were green, saffron and red, and it contained both a Crescent and a Sun. By placing it before her socialist audience she sought to make the case for Indian independence.

Brave though it was, Madam Cama's gesture had little effect on the freedom movement. Now it has been rescued from oblivion by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and given a terrific amount of spin. It is insinuated that this flag is the tricolour as we know and revere it, when it is a quite different creation altogether. And

it is claimed that it is in the possession of Uma Bharti, who got it from her party mate Rajendra Singh Rana, to whose forefathers Madam Cama is said to have handed it over. This too is a falsehood, for the Madam's original flag was deposited at the Maratha and Kesari Library in Pune, where - unless it has recently been purloined - it must still be.

Why does the BJP need to resort to such distortion of the historical record? Most likely because its progenitor, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), took no part in the freedom movement at all. During the 1930s and 1940s, few, if any, RSS workers were seen saluting the national flag.

Their allegiances were sectarian rather than national - indeed, they chose to elevate their own bhagwa dhwaj above the tiranga jhanda. Shortly after Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, there were widespread reports of RSS activists trampling upon the tricolour. This greatly upset the Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru. In a speech on February 24, 1948, Nehru spoke sorrowfully of how "at some places, members of the RSS dishonoured the National Flag. They know well that by disgracing the flag they are proving themselves as traitors ..."

The Sangh Parivar has now come round to honouring the tricolour, but their actions suggest that they still do not understand what that flag means. Thus the rhetoric used on the present tiranga yatra of the BJP is designed to divide the peoples of India. In this respect, this yatra is an insult to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi and to countless other freedom fighters who fought, under that flag, for national unity and religious harmony. And, it must finally be said, it is also an insult to the memory of Madame Bhikaji Cama - a socialist and secularist who would have been appalled at being forced to keep posthumous company with Uma Bharti and her ilk.

If the true and precise history of Indian Freedom Struggle was written and taught to the people of India after independence, the name of Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma would not have been unfamiliar to the general public of India. His name should be on the front page of the chapters of Indian Freedom Struggle in 19th century as Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma initiated the movement in London in 1905, twenty years before Gandhiji entered into the

politics of Indian independence. He advocated the principle of non-cooperation & movement in his newspaper 13 years before Gandhiji put it into practice calling the movement Asahakar Andolan. Although Pandit Shymaji preached non-violence movement for the Indian Independence, he never ruled out the use of arms and violence if required to free his Motherland from British occupation.

Pandit Shyamji Krishnavarma was a great patriot, philanthropist and political propagandist of Bharat -India. He will be remembered in the history of the freedom movement of Bharat as a great revolutionary journalist, writer and a maker of freedom fighters and the most inspiring genius of freedom movement for Indian youths. Fired with a deep patriotic urge and nationalist emotion, Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma launched the freedom movement in England in 1905, two decades before Gandhiji entered into freedom movement of Bharat. He was not only a great freedom fighter and inspirer but also a great and profound Sanskrit & English scholar. Professor (Sir) Monier Williams held very high respect for Shyamaji. In his testimonial he said, "Assuredly no English or European teacher could possibly be his equal in expounding the grammar of Indian languages according to the principles of native grammarians. I may add that I know no other Pandit who combines a considerable knowledge of Greek and Latin with great Sanskrit attainments."

A famous indologist and Sanskrit scholar professor Max Muller also spoke very highly of Shyamji. Pandit Shyamaji sacrificed his whole life and earnings for the freedom of his motherland from the foreign rule of British Imperialism. He was a brave and committed comrade who made his headquarter right in the heart of British Empire, their capital, London, to fight against British Rule in India. He was one of the foremost leaders of New Nationalist Movement during the most critical years of awakening Indian mass. He carried out rigorous propaganda in Europe for the cause of Freedom Movement of Bharat. Pandit Shyamaji was the first and foremost Indian political leader to demand complete independence from British despotism and to use the term Swaraj (SELF RULE), which was later adopted by Dadabhai Naoroji and his colleagues in Indian National Congress.

Shyamji was born in a historic year of 1857 when the first war of Indian Independence was fought against British Imperialism, where thousands of freedom fighters sacrificed their life to liberate their Motherland from foreign rule. Shyamaji was borne 30th October 1857 in Mandavi of Kutchh province, according to the official register in Geneva. His Father, Karasan Bhanushali, known by nickname " Bhulo Bhanushali" was economically poor. He worked as a labourer for cotton Press Company exporting cotton abroad. His mother, Gomatibai was very brave and pious lady. Unfortunately, she died when Shyamaji was just eleven years old and her mother took over the responsibility to raise him. Shyamji was very intelligent from his childhood. He completed his primary and secondary education in Mandavi and Bhuj in Kutchh Province. He came to Mumbai for further education and joined Wilson High School. He had a great love for Sanskrit from his childhood. He acquired his preliminary lessons in Sanskrit language from Shri B B Pandya in Mandavi. He acquired further knowledge of Sanskrit language in great depth from Shashtri Vishvanath of Mumbai & mastered the language.

Shyamaji got married to Bhanumati, a daughter of a wealthy businessman Seth Shri Chahbildas Lallubhai of Bhatia community and sister of his school friend Ramdas, in 1875. In 1876, He came in touch with Swami Dayanand Saraswati, an exponent of Vedas, radical reformer, and staunch nationalist and founder of Arya Samaj. He became his disciple. Swamiji was very impressed with Shyamji's knowledge of Sanskrit and religious literatures. He guided and inspired Shyamji to conduct lectures on Vedic Philosophy and Religion. In 1877, Shyamji toured all over Bharat propagating the philosophy of Vedas. This tour secured him a great public recognition all over Bharat and many prominent scholars admired him for his knowledge and speeches. He was the first non-Brahmin, who was conferred the prestigious title of Pandit by the Pandits of Kashi in 1877. Professor Monier Williams, learned Professor of Sanskrit at oxford, attended the lecture of Pandit Shyamaji in Mumbai in 1876. He was so impressed with Shyamaji's deep knowledge, mastery and his oratory excellence over Sanskrit Language and literatures. He saw a great potential in this young man and offered Shyamaji a job as his assistant in first instance.

Shyamji arrived in England in 1879 on invitation of professor Monier Williams of Oxford University. He joined professor William as his assistant. Shyamji and also joined Balliol College on 25th April 1979 with the recommendation of professor Williams. He passed his B A in 1883. He was invited to read papers on "the origin of writing in India" by the secretary of Royal Asiatic Society. Pandit Shyamji's speech was very well received there and he was elected as a non-resident member of the society. In 1881 he was sent by the secretary of state for India to represent the learning of his country at Berlin Congress of Orientalists. There he not only read his own paper on the subject of " Sanskrit as a living language of India", but also he read the patriotic Sanskrit poem sent by RamDas Sena, a learned ZAMINDAR of Behrampur, and translated it into English for audience. This patriotic poem might have created the spark of patriotism in Shyamji. In 1982 Shyamji was elected as honorary member of "Empire Club". Here in England, he enacted from success to success. He came across many thinkers, Philosophers and scholars and they all admired this genius young man from India. Indologist Max Muller and vice chancellor of Oxford University, Dr B Jowett thought very highly of Shyamji. He returned to India in the end of 1883 and came back with his wife Bhanumati.

In 1885 he returned to India and enrolled himself as advocate of Mumbai High Court on19th January 1985 and started his practice. Then he was appointed as Diwan (chief minister) of Ratlam State by the king of the state. He resigned his high post in May 1988 due to ill health. The king granted him a lump sum of RS 32052 as signal mark of his high regards for his service. Then he stayed in Mumbai for a while. He settled in Ajmer, headquarter of his Guru Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and started his practice at British Court, Ajmer. Here he earned the bigger income than Ratlam. He made industrial investment in three cotton presses and secured a permanent income, which made him independent of any services for remainder of his life. He also served for Maharaja of Udaipur as member of his council from 1893 to 1895. He took position of Diwan of Junagadh State in 1895 and resigned in 1897 due to bitter experience of British agent's interference. This incidence shook his faith in British Rule.

During his stay in India Shyamji was very much impressed with a nationalist leader, Lokmanya Tilak. He whole-heartedly supported Tilak when he said hands off to British Government during the consent of AGE BILL CONTRAVERSY. Shyamji initiated very friendly relation with Tilak, which inspired Shyamji to the Nationalist Movement in next decade. The timid and futile cooperative policy of Congress Party did not appeal Shyamaji. He believed that the petitioning, praying, protesting, cooperating and collaborating policy of Congress Party was undignified, shameful for Indian Nationalism and self-respects of proud and patriotic Indians. Shyamaji saw that undignified method of "political mendicancy" adopted by Congress Party had crossed the limit of patience of educated youth and made them furious.

In 1897, the atrocities inflicted during the plague crisis in Poona on Indians by British Government, stunned and shocked Shyamji. He then felt full justification for the nationalist stand taken by Nathu brothers and Tilak. On 20th June 1897, Chafekar brothers of Natu family assassinated the tyrant Commissioner of Plague, Mr Rand and his Lieutenant Ayerst.

Shyamaji was well acquainted with Damodar, one of the Natu Brothers, whom he employed as his bodyguard on recommendation of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, while shyamaji was Diwan of Junagadh. He has foreseen his future to ending up in jail like Tilak and others if he would carry out his future plan of this movement as the political climate of India became highly suppressive and repressive after the assassination of Mr Rand and Ayerst. Shyamaji rejected his lucrative career to immigrate to England in March 1897, just after the arrest of Damodar, with a view to carry out the fight from abroad. He deliberately intended to launch uncompromising propaganda against autocratic, exploitative and oppressive regime of British Rule and to create support in England and Europe for THE INDEPENDENCE OF INDIA.

Shyamji left his Motherland with the great determination to work restlessly for the liberation of India from foreign rule. He had only one business in mind to establish a business of training and inspiring the young sons and daughters of India to strive for the liberty of their Motherland. He decided to dedicate all his

money, time, scholarship, literary power and above all his life to serve his Motherland selflessly.

After his arrival in London, He stayed in residential chamber of Inner Temple at 13, Kings Bench Walk, Temple Inn. He utilised his leisure time to study Herbert Spencer's literatures and the thoughts of other prominent writers advocating freedom. He stayed here until 1900 and acquired deep knowledge in the philosophy of Freedom utilising the library of Inner Temple as being a member of this professional organisation. In 1900, he bought a luxurious house at 9 Queens wood Avenue, Highgate (now known as 60 Muswell Hill Road from 3rd March 1921) in 1900. This place became a base for all political leaders of India. Gandhiji, Lenin, Tilak, Lala Lajpatrai, Gokhle etc visited this house to discuss the plan for Indian Independence Movement. Shyamji disagreed and refused to be associated in any measure with Indian Congress activities, which was largely run by Mr Hume, Mr Waddenburn and company. Shyamji cultivated personal contacts with many person of advanced views such as rationalists, free thinkers, national & social democrats British Socialists, Irish republicans and above all those who were fighting for liberty in the any corner in the world.

In 1898, when a free press defence committee was formed in order to resist police attack upon liberty of all opinions Shyamji subscribed generously to its funds. In the same year Pandit Shyamaji met Sardarsinh Rana, his future desciple, associate and friend, who came to London to study law at inner Temple. In 1899, Shyamji strongly criticised Gandhiji, a lawyer from Natal, for supporting British Government in Boer war, when Boers were fighting for their very existence of their small nation. Shyamaji started giving fiery speeches in the free atmosphere of Hyde Park in London, calling for the supports of progressive and sympathetic Britons in the right cause of India's emancipation. The fire brand speech of Shyamaji set a fire of patriotic feeling in the heart of by passing Indian lady in audience, who would be destined to be come a " Mother of Indian Revolution" in future under the discipleship of Pandit Shamaji Krishnavarma.

Shyamji, a follower and disciple of Spencer's philosophy, announced £1000 to establish the lectureship at university of Oxford

in memory of Herbert Spencer, a apostle of the freedom of the individuals and principle of a British philosophers, at his funeral service held in Golders Green, on 14/12/1903, as a great tribute and respect to him and his work. He also planned the programme of carrying out Spencerian propaganda for the benefit of his countrymen. On Herbert Spencer's 1st death anniversary, 8th Dec 1904, Shyamji announced that Herbert Spencer Indian fellowships of RS 2000 each were awarded to enable Indian graduates to finish education in England. He also announced additional fellowship in memory of the late swami Dayanand Saraswati the founder of Arya Samaj along with further four fellowships in the future.

In 1905, Shyamji embarked on his great life work for the freedom of his motherland. Shyamji's new career began as a full-fledged political propagandist and organiser for the alignment of complete independence of India. Shyamji finally made his debut in Indian politics by publishing first issue of his English monthly "The Indian Sociologist" - an organ of freedom and of political, social and religious reform in January 1905 from his address 9 Queens Wood Avenue, Highgate, now known as 60 Muswell Hill Road, Highgate. This strong, powerful, realistic, ideological monthly served a great purpose in uplifting mass against British rule and created many more intellectual revolutionaries in the India and abroad to fight for the freedom of India.

On the 18th February 1905, Shyamji inaugurated a new organisation called "The Indian Home Rule Society". The first meeting held at Shyamji's residence at Highgate and the meeting unanimously decided to found "The Indian Home Rule Society" with the object of:

(1) Securing Home Rule for India

(2) Carrying on Propaganda in England by all practical means with a view to attain the same.

(3) Spreading among the people of India in knowledge of freedom and national unity.

As the racial prejudice barred the way to many boarding houses and hostels to Indian students, he foresaw the necessity of starting a hostel for Indian students. He bought a freehold property at 65, Cromwell Avenue, Highgate and he made an

announcement of forthcoming opening of famous India House, a hostel of Indian students with living accommodation for 25 students. India House formally inaugurated on 1st July by Mr. H. M. Hyndman, a leader of social, democratic federation, in presence of many dignitaries, such as Dadabhai Navarozji, Lala Lajpatrai, Madam Cama, Mr. Swinney (from positivist society), Mr. Quelch (the editor of Justice) and Madam Despard (Irish Republican and Suffragette). Declaring "India House" open, Mr H M Hyndman gave a most eloquent and sympathetic speech. He remarked, " As things stands, loyalty to Great Britain means treachery to India. The institution of this India house means a great step in that direction of Indian growth and Indian emancipation, and some of those who are here this afternoon may live to witness the fruits of its triumphant success." How Prophetic words of a great statesman!

The main purpose of Shyamji Krishnavarma to open this hostel was to create great patriotic revolutionaries by implementing his ideology for the freedom of India. He succeeded in his vision and he produced the greatest revolutionaries such as Madam Bhikhaiji Cama, Sardarsinh Rana, Krantivir Vinayak Savarkar, Virendra Chattopadhyay, and Hardayalji etc.

Shyamji attended the United Congress of democrats held at Holborn Town Hall on 29th July 1905, as a chief delegate of the India Home Rule Society. Shyamji scored a tremendous personal success when he rose to move the resolution on India; he received an enthusiastic ovation from the entire conference. The newspapers Reynolds and Daily Chronicle gave remarkable chronicle of his speech. Shyamji's activities in England remained highly volcanic and inflammatory to British government, the power of his pen shook the British Empire.

He was disbarred from inner temple and removed from the book of the society on 30th April 1909 for writing anti-British articles in Indian Sociologist. Most of the British press were anti - Shyamji and carried out outrageous allegations against him and his newspaper. He defended them boldly. The Times referred to him as the "Notorious Krishnavarma". Many newspapers criticised liberal British people who supported Shyamji and his view. The British government became highly suspicious of him. As Shyamji

realised his movements were closely watched by British Secret Services he finally decided to shift his headquarters to Paris leaving India House in charge of his disciple Vir Savarker. He left Britain secretly before the British Government tried to arrest him.

He arrived in Paris in early 1907 and continued his work vigorously. The British media still remained highly critical of him and tried to use their influence in French media circle. The British government tried to extradite him from France with no success as Shyamaji established a great friendship with many top French politicians who supported him. Shyamji's name was dragged into the most sensational trial of Mr. Merlin, an Englishmen, at Bows Court for writing an article in "liberators" published by Shyamji's friend, Mr. James. Shyamji restlessly worked in Paris to procure support for Indian Independence from European countries with great success. He agitated for the release of Savarker and acquired great support all over Europe and Russia.

Guy Aldred wrote an article in the Daily Herald under the heading of "Savarker the Hindu Patriot whose sentences expire on 24th December 1960". This created a great support in England too. As the presence of Indian nationalist in Paris would be seriously jeopardised on outbreak of a European war and the visit of King George to Paris, to set a final seal of Entente Cordiale.

In 1914, Shyamji foresaw the fate and shifted his headquarter to Geneva. He continued his struggle for Indian independence, morally and financially, with same enthusiasm but with some restriction as the pledge of political in-action he had given to Swiss government during the entire period of war. He kept in touch with his old friends but he could not support them fully. As he was restricted from all political activities and isolated from his friends, e.g. Ranaji, Madam Cama, and his created revolutionaries, like Savarker, Hardayal, etc. this isolation threw him into the company of Dr. Briess who was president of Pro India Committee in Geneva.

Shyamji was later shocked and heartbroken when he found out that Dr. Briess was a paid secret agent of the British government, as well as the treachery of his old friend. This event left a deep scar in his heart but his support to the cause remained at his heart throughout.

He was always prepared to help for the cause of freedom and injustice. He offered a sum of 10 000 francs to the league of nations for the purpose of endowing a lectureship to be called President Wilson (USA) Lectureship for the discourse on the best means of acquiring and safe guarding national independence consistently with freedom, justice, and the right of asylum accorded to political refugees. It is said that the league rejected his offer due to political pressure from British government. When he made a similar offer to Swiss government, it was also turned down. He declared another lectureship to the president of Press Association of Geneva at the banquet given by Press Association of Geneva where 250 journalists and publicists which included the president of Swiss Federation and the league of nations.

Shyamji's offer was applauded on the spot but it met with the same fate as before. Shyamji was very much disappointed with such decision and he published all his abortive correspondence in this matter in his new issue of the Sociologist on Dec. 1920, after a lapse of almost 6 years. His last 2 issues of Indian Sociologist were published in August and September 1922, could be taken as his last political will and testament of his work. After several health problems, a great Indian patriot, Shyamji Krishnavarma, breathed his last in hospital at 11:30pm on 30th March 1930 leaving his wife Shrimati Bhanumati Krishnavarma with no heir.

British government in India and Britain suppressed the death news of Pandit Shyamaji. Although the best tribute paid to him by a great revolutionary, Sadar Bhagat Singh and his co-revolutionist brothers in Lahore Jail where they were undergoing a long-term drawn out trial. Maratha, a daily newspaper started by Shri Tilak in Marathi, paid very touching tribute to a great revolutionary.

His wife Bhanumati carried out the good work of Shyamji even after his death. She donated 10,000 Swiss Francs in memory of Shyamji to the Geneva University to be used every year for printing and approved thesis on subject of sociological interest. She also donated 10 000 Swiss Francs to the hospital in Geneva for the treatment of poor and needy. She presented the whole of the Sanskrit and Oriental Library of Pandit Shyamji to the institute De Civilisation Indienne in the Surbonne. She donated 90,000

franks to established a trust in Surbonne University for awarding scholarship to a suitable number of selected Indian students for prosecuting higher studies in the university. Even today the memory of Shyamji and his wife is preserved in Sorbonne University in the form a memorial plaque.

Shyamaji had the undisputed faith of the Indian Nationalists who aspires to nothing less than the sovereign independence (Sampurna Swaraj) of Bharat, the Aryavart of his guru Swami Dayanad's dream, and he cherished it up to the very end of his life. While the moderates of the Congress Party and renegades worshipped at the unholy church of British Imperialism, Shyamji KrishnaVarma declared undying and UN compromising war against the British occupation of his Motherland. He spent the rest of his life in exile to achieve his goal for independence of India. The seed he sowed for the independence struggled, in early 19th century, brought a fruitful result in 1948, when finally India's struggle for Independence was over and it became Independent from British Rule. He did not survive to see the glorious result of all his hard work that bore freedom to Mother India, but his vision for freeing his country from the all embracing strong hold of foreign power and to establish India on the high pedestal of sovereign republic among the free nation of the world, became fulfilled. Shyamji will always be remembered and be seen as an intellectual role model to not only the people of India, but to the people of the world as a great freedom fighter revolutionist with a pen as the weapon of mass distruction which shook the mighty British Empire.

Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma did not live to witness the independence of Bharat, but his efforts, conviction and confidence of India gaining its freedom from British rule in future was strong and unshakable as he made the prepaid arrangements with the local government of Geneva, Ville de Geneve, and St Georges cemetery to preserve his & his wife's ashes (Asthis) at the cemetery for one hundred years and to send their urns to India whenever it becomes independent during that period.

It is a sad and shameful irony in the history of Indian Independence that the Congress Party who took over the charge from British and ruled the government of independent Bharat for

almost fifty years did not bother to persue the matter of bring the urns (Ashis) of Pandit Shyamaji & his wife for their political gains and grudges as Pandit Shyamaji was not a follower of Congress and Gandhidian ideology and policy. The other main reason for the neglect might be that they did not want to bring out the great work and sacrifice rendered by other freedom fighters, whom they deliberately brushed under the carpet, to protect their beloved heroes Gandhiji's and Jawaharlal's image they portrayed as being the only two freedom fighter heroes who made the freedom of India possible.

The truth always prevails. The deliberate and cunning attempt of Congress Party over fifty years could not suppress the will of fully committed and devoted few individuals and organisations to keep the lamp of Pandit Shyamaji's memory burning. They worked very hard for many years to fulfil the last wish of Pandit Shyamaji to bring the Urns (Asthis) to Liberated Bharat from Geneva. The joint effort of Shri Mangal Bhanushali, Corporator of Mumbai and Trustee of Krishnavarma foundation, Mandavi, Shri Kirit Somaiya, Member of parliament, Mulund, Mumbai, Hemantkumar Padhya, Researcher and founder/President of Hindu Swatantryavir Smruti Sansthanam, Milton Keynes, United Kingdom, Shri Vinod Khanna, M P, Actor of Bollywood and Minister of External Affairs Government India, Shri Narendra Modi, Chief Minister of Gujarat State and many others made a long due and momentous occasion in the history of Indian Freedom Movement possible when the urns of Pandit Shyamaji and his wife Bhanumati were officially handed over to The Chief Minister Of Gujarat state on 22nd August 2003, by Villed de Geneve and Swiss Government. At last! The last wish of Pandit Shyamaji, A Great Indian Freedom Fighter Revolutionary, is fulfilled when Shri Narendra Modi landed with the Urns at Chatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Air Port, Sahar, Mumbai on 23rd August 2003, eight days and fifty five years after Indian Independence.

4

Ram Prasad Bismil

Pandit Ram Prasad Bismil (1897-1927) was one of the great Indian independence fighters, who also participated in the Kakori train robbery. He was a member of the Arya Samaj.He was also a great poet and has written several inspiring verses. He was prosecuted by the British Government in India. Pandit Ramaprasad Bismil joined the select band of martyrs who dreamt of a free India and made the supreme sacrifice, so that the dream might come true.

Pandit Ram Prasad Bismil, along with stalwarts like Premkishan Khanna, Ashfaqulla Khan, Chandrasekhar Azad, Thakur Roshan Singh, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev,Bhagawati Charan, Rajguru Rai Ram Narain great grand son of Raja Tikait Rai Wazir Nawab of Oudh Awadhand others organised several upheavals against the British. They printed literature, provided shelter to revolutionaries, made hand bombs and were a constant source of headache to the British Government. Most famous of them were the Kakori Train Robbery and the Bombing of the Punjab Assembly.

Ram Prasad Bismil along with nine revolutionary colleagues executed a meticulous plan for the looting of the government treasury carried in a train at Kakori. This happened on August 9, 1925. It was a great action which terrified the British authorities. The retribution was severe. The revolutionaries were caught. In a long drawn case, Ram prasad, Ashfaqullah, Roshan Singh and Rajendra Lahiri were sentenced to death. Ram Prasad Bismil was hanged by the British authorities on December 18, 1927. Rai Ram Narain was jailed for life. Ram Prasad Bismil showed great courage

at the time of the hanging as a true patriot sacrificing his life for the motherland.

'Bismil' is the penname of Pandit Ramaprasad. As 'Bismil' he is well known as a great revolutionary poet in Hindi. At the end of his autobiography, some selected poems are given. Every line of his poems throbs with patriotic fervour.

In one poem he prays: "Even if I have to face death a thousand times for the sake of my Motherland, I shall not be sorry. Oh Lord! Grant me a hundred births in Bharath. But grant me this, too, that each time I may give up my life in the service of the Mother land."

In a poem written just before going to the gallows, he prays: "Oh Lord! Thy will be done. You are unique. Neither my tears nor I will endure. Grant me this boon, that to my last breath and the last drop of my blood, I may think of you and be immersed in your work."

Pandit Ram Prasad Bismil will be forever be remembered for his contribution in Independence struggle of India.

SARFAROSHI KI TAMANNA-HIS FINEST POEM

Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai, Dekhna hai zor kitna baazu-e-qaatil mein hai.

Karta nahin kyun doosra kuch baat-cheet, Dekhta hun main jise woh chup teri mehfil mein hai. Aye shaheed-e-mulk-o-millat main tere oopar nisaar, Ab teri himmat ka charcha ghair ki mehfil mein hai. Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai.

Waqt aanay pe bata denge tujhe aye aasman, Hum abhi se kya batayen kya hamare dil mein hai. Khainch kar layee hai sab ko qatl hone ki ummeed, Aashiqon ka aaj jumghat koocha-e-qaatil mein hai. Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai.

Hai liye hathiyaar dushman taak mein baitha udhar, Aur hum taiyyaar hain seena liye apna idhar. Khoon se khelenge holi gar vatan muskhil mein hai, Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai.

Haath jin mein ho junoon katt te nahi talvaar se, Sar jo uth jaate hain voh jhukte nahi lalkaar se. Aur bhadkega jo shola-sa humaare dil mein hai, Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai.

Hum to ghar se nikle hi the baandhkar sar pe kafan, Jaa hatheli par liye lo badh chale hain ye qadam. Zindagi to apni mehmaan maut ki mehfil mein hai, Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai.

Yuun khadaa maqtal mein qaatil kah rahaa hai baar baar, Kya tamannaa-e-shahaadat bhi kisee ke dil mein hai. Dil mein tuufaanon ki toli aur nason mein inqilaab, Hosh dushman ke udaa denge humein roko na aaj. Duur reh paaye jo humse dam kahaan manzil mein hai,

Sarfaroshi ki tamanna ab hamaare dil mein hai. Dekhna hai zor kitna baazuay qaatil mein hai.

Childhood

Pandit Ramprasad was born in the year 1897 at Shahjahanpur,Uttar Pradesh. His ancestors hailed from the state of Gwalior.His father Muralidhar was with the municipality of Shahjahanpur.He was the second of two siblings.He is known for his association with fellow Indian revolutionaries Ashfaqulla Khan, Chandra Shekar Azaad, Shaheed Bhagat Singh and Thakur Roshan Singh.

haif ham jispe ki taiyaar they mar jaane ko
jiite jii hamane chhu.Daayaa usii kaashaane ko
kyaa na thaa aur bahaanaa koii ta.Dapaane ko
aasmaa.n kyaa yahii baaqii thaa sitam Dhaane ko
laake Gurbat mei.n jo rakkhaa hame.n tarsaane ko

phir na gulshan me.n hame.n laayegaa saiyaad kabhii
yaad aayegaa kise yah dil-e-naashaad kabhii
kyo.n sunegaa tuu hamaarii koii fariyaad kabhii
ham bhii is baaG me.n the qaid se aazaad kabhii
ab to kaahe ko milegii ye havaa khaane ko

dil fidaa karate hai.n qurbaan jigar karate hai.n
paas jo kuchh hai vo maataa kii nazar karate hai.n
Khaanaa viiraan kahaa.n dekhiye ghar karate hai.n

khush raho ahal-e-vatan, ham to safar karate hai.n
jaake aabaad kare.nge kisii viraane ko

na mayassar huaa raahat se kabhii mel hame.n
jaan par khel ke bhaayaa na koii khel hame.n
*ek din kaa bhii na ma.nzuur huaa bel hame.n *(see glossary)*
yaad aayegaa aliipur ka bahut jel hame.n
log to bhuul gaye ho.nge us afasaane ko

a.nDaman Khaak terii kyo.n na ho dil mei.n naazaa.n
*chhake charaNo.n ko jo pi.ngale ke huii hai jiishaa.n (** See glossary)*
maratabaa itanaa ba.Dhe terii bhii taqdiir kahaa.n
aate aate jo rahe 'baal tilak' bhii mehamaa.n
'maa.nDale' ko hii yah a'izaaz milaa paane ko

(Bal Tilak was in a prison named Mandale between 1908-1914)

baat to jab hai ki is baat kii zidde.n Thaane.n
desh ke vaaste qurbaan kare.n ham jaane.n
laakh samjhaaye koii, usakii na harGiz maane.n
bahate hue Khuun me.n apnaa na Garebaa.n saane.n
naasehaa, aag lage is tere samjhaane ko

apnii qismat me.n azal se hii sitam rakkhaa thaa
ra.nj rakkhaa thaa, mehan rakkhaa thaa, Gam rakkhaa thaa
kisko parvaah thii aur kisme.n ye dam rakkhaa thaa
hamne jab vaadi-e-Gurbat me.n qadam rakkhaa thaa
duur tak yaad-e-vatan aaii thii samjhaane ko

ham bhii aaraam uThaa sakte the ghar par rah kar
ham bhii maa.n baap ke paale the, ba.De duhkh sah kar
vaqt-e-ruKhsat unhe.n itnaa bhii na aaye kah kar
god me.n aa.nsoo jo Tapke kabhii ruKh se bah kar
tifl unko hii samajh lenaa ji bahlaane ko

desh-sevaa kaa hii bahataa hai lahuu nas-nas me.n
ham to khaa baiThe hai.n chittaur ke ga.Dh kii qasame.n
sarafaroshii kii adaa hotii hai.n yo.n hii rasame.n
bhaal-e-Kha.njar se gale milate hai.n sab aapas me.n
bahano, taiyaar chitaao.n me.n ho jal jaane ko

ab to ham Daal chuke apne gale me.n jholii
ek hotii hai faqiro.n kii hameshaa bolii
Khuun me.n phaag rachaayegii hamaarii Tolii
jab se ba.ngaal me.n khele hai.n kanhaiyaa holii
koii us din se nahii.n puuchhataa barsaane ko

apanaa kuchh Gam nahii.n par hamako Khayaal aataa hai
maadar-e-hind par kab tak javaal aataa hai
'haradayaal' aataa hai 'yuurop' se na 'laal' aataa hai
desh ke haal pe rah rah malaal aataa hai
muntazir rahte hai.n ham Khaak me.n mil jaane ko

naujavaano.n, jo tabiiyat me.n tumhaarii khaTake
yaad kar lenaa hame.n bhii kabhii bhuul-e-bhaTake
aap ke juzve badan hove judaa kaT-kaT ke
aur sad chaak ho maataa ka kalejaa phaTake
par na maathe pe shikan aaye qasam khaane ko

dekhe.n kab tak ye asiiraan-e-musiibat chhuTe.n
maadar-e-hind ke kab bhaag khule.n yaa phuuTe.n
'gaandhii aafriikaa kii baazaaro.n me.n sa.Dake.n kuuTe.n
aur ham chain se din raat bahaare.n luuTe.n
kyo.n na tarjiih de.n is jiine pe mar jaane ko

koii maataa kii ummido.n pe na Daale paanii
zindagii bhar ko hame.n bhej ke kaale paanii
mu.nh me.n jallaad hue jaate hai.n chhale paanii
aab-e-Kha.njar kaa pilaa karke duaa le paanii
bharne kyo.n jaaye.n kahii.n umr ke paimaane ko

maiqadaa kiskaa hai ye jaam-e-subuu kisakaa hai
vaar kiskaa hai javaano.n ye guluu kisakaa hai
jo bahe qaum ke Khaatir vo lahuu kisakaa hai
aasmaa.n saaf bataa de tuu aduu kisakaa hai
kyo.n naye ra.ng badaltaa hai tu ta.Dpaane ko

dardmando.n se musiibat kii halaavat puuchho
marne vaalo.n se zaraa lutf-e-shahaadat puuchho
chashm-e-gustaaKh se kuchh diid kii hasarat puuchho
kushtay-e-naaz se Thokar kii qayaamat puuchho
soz kahte hai.n kise puuchh lo parvaane ko

naujavaano.n yahii mauqaa hai uTho khul khelo
aur sar par jo balaa aaye Khushii se jhelo
qaum ke naam pe sadaqe pe javaanii de do
phir mile.ngii na ye maataa kii duaae.n le lo
dekhe.n kaun aataa hai irshaad bajaa laane ko

THE KAKORI RAIL DACOITY

It was December 19, 1927. The winter sun rose late. But its golden rays brought warmth and joy to people shivering in the biting cold. At the same time, in the District Jail at Faizabad, Uttar Pradesh, officials were getting ready to put an end to the life of a man. He was a revolutionary. Officials, both high and low, were busy. The Chief Jailer carefully inspected the rope, the sandbags and other things necessary for his execution . He was fully satisfied with the arrangements. Then he called out to his subordinate, "Bring the convict here". The official went with ten soldiers. The door of the cell of the man who was to die opened with a loud, harsh sound. That was the last time the door opened for this man.The brave patriot was waiting for this call. He asked cheerfully, "Is everything ready?"

THE LION AMONG MEN : ASHFAQ ULLAH

The hero in chains walked upright and with resolve between soldiers who led him to the hangman's post. Those who were

there forgot their positions and prestige and gazed at him with wonder and admiration. Once at the foot of the steps leading to the post, he covered them in two leaps and stood facing the post. When they removed the chains, he put forward his arms, drew the rope towards him and kissed it. He said, "My hands are not soiled with the murder of man. The charge against me is false. God will give me justice".Then he prayed in clear, ringing tones "La ilahi il Allah, Mohammed Ur Rasool Allah".The hangman's noose came round his neck. The moment the lever was pressed, the plank on which he stood moved quickly and he went down into the pit below. He joined the band of the brave immortal heroes of the land. This hero was Ashafaqulla, the immortal revolutionary.

Born in the early part of the twentieth century in Shahjahanpur, Uttar Pradesh, Ashfaqulla was the son of Shafiqulla Khan. In 1921 the clouds of the non-cooperation movement were gathering all over India. Mahatma Gandhi had called on Indians not to pay taxes to the Government or cooperate with the British. This had kindled the fire of freedom in the hearts of all Indians. But at a place called Chauri Chaura people indulged in violence and set ablaze a police station resulting in the death of some policemen. Gandhi became sad on hearing this. It pained him much. So he called off the non-cooperation movement in February, 1922. The youth of the country were greatly disappointed and dejected on account of this.

Ashfaqulla was one such dejected youth. The country should become free as early as possible - this was his yearning and so he joined the revolutionaries. It was then that he decided to win the friendship of Ramaprasad, the revolutionary of Shahjahanpur. Pandit Ramaprasad Bismil was already a famous revolutionary.

Ashfaq had one great difficulty in winning the friendship of Ramaprasad. He was a member of the Arya Samaj. He was eager to explain the greatness of the Hindu religion to those belonging to other faiths. He was eager to take back to the Hindu fold those who wished to return. He had almost taken a vow to do this. Ashfaq was a devout Muslim. But his religion did not come in the way of his attempt to win the friendship of Ramaprasad. Though initially Ashfaq met with some resistance from Ramprasad,

eventually his relentless pursuit to strike up a friendship with Bismil bore fruit and they became friends. They ate and lived the revolutionary lives together. In the end both became martyrs on the same day but in different jails.

The young revolutionaries wanted to make use of revolver, bombs and other weapons to fight the British. Kashi (Varanasi) was the centre of their activities. They formed the Hindustan Republican Association. Their main objective was to win freedom for the country through armed revolution.

This Association published a manifesto called 'Krantikari' in 1925, spelling out its aims and objectives. The manifesto said it was wrong for one man to become rich by making another man work hard; it was also wrong for one man to be the master of another. The Association wanted to put an end to such things. Ramaprasad became the chief organiser of the Shahjahnpur wing of the Association. To meet their financial needs Ramaprasad and his assosiates looted some villages. Ashfaq took part in these activities with his brother's licensed rifle.But the money they got by this means was not enough for their activities.

The idea of the Kakori train robbery was conceived in the mind of Ramaprasad while travelling by train from Shahjahanpur to Lucknow. At every station he noticed moneybags being taken into the guard's van and being dropped into an iron safe. At Lucknow, he observed that there were no special security arrangements. He ran up and noted down the time and number of the train from the time table. He calculated that the money would amount to at least ten thousand rupees. He decided not to miss this chance. This was the beginning of the famous train dacoity at Kakori.

At a meeting with revolutionaries from Kashi, Kanpur, Lucknow and Agra, Ramaprasad explained his plans to them . He said, "If we loot the money belonging to the Government, we will get enough for our activities. Moreover, we will not have to harm our own people for money. The task is difficult. It needs to be done with great care. But our efforts will bring excellent rewards. The government also will come to know that the revolutionaries do not mealy talk but act".The members liked his idea.

Ashfaq listened silently. From the day he had heard it from Ramaprasad, he had thought about it thoroughly. So he got up and said, "Friends, I consider it a hasty step. It may be a good plan in some ways. But let us think of our strength and the strength of the Government. In an ordinary dacoity, much money is not involved. Besides, the Government will treat it as one of the many usual occurrences. So we shall have to face only what the police normally does in such cases. It will be a different tale when he meddles with money belonging to Government. The entire government machinery will be used to trace and crush us. In my opinion we cannot escape detection and punishment. Our party is not strong enough. Let us drop this plan".

But the revolutionaries were caught up in a flood of enthusiasm; they were not prepared to listen to sense. After debating the plan for a long time they decided to go ahead and entrusted the task to Ramaprasad. At the outset he sounded a word of caution. He said, "Friends, we should not fire at any one unless they fire at us. As far as possible let us do this deed without bloodshed". The meeting broke up.

On August 9, 1925 when the No.8 Down Train from Shahjahanpur to Lucknow was approaching Kakori , some one pulled the chain and the train stopped abruptly. Ashfaqulla got off the second class compartment with his friends Sachindra Bakshi and Rajendra Lahiri. He had done the first part of his duty in the Kakori plot that day.

The guard got down to find out in which compartment the chain had been pulled and why. Two revolutionaries fell on him and made him lie down on his face. Two others pushed the driver from the engine to the ground and stood guard over him. One revolutionary stood at each end of the train and both fired shots with their pistols. In the meantime they shouted, "Travellers, do not be afraid. We are revolutionaries fighting for freedom. Your lives, money and honour are safe. But take care not to peep out of the train".

Four young men entered the guard's van. They managed to push the box to the ground. It had a strong lock. There was an opening on the top; through this opening they could drop moneybags into it. But nothing could be taken out of it.The

revolutionaries started dealing blows with hammers to break it open. Ashfaq was the strongest of the group and ran towards the box. He dealt blows after blows on the opening of the box to widen it.

Suddenly they heard the sound of a train coming from Lucknow. Ramaprasad was frightened for a moment. He trembled at the thought of the moving train colliding with the train they had stopped.

All eyes were on Ramaprasad. He ordered, "Stop firing. Turn down the pistols. Do not strike the box. Ashfaq, wait a little". The few minutes were like an age. The fast moving train passed by on the other track. The slit in the box was widened and the moneybags were taken out. During this time all passengers remained quiet including the British officers thinking that a big gang of dacoits had attacked the train.

The safe lay open. They were busy taking out the moneybags bundling them in rugs. Some of them walked towards Lucknow with the bundles on their head. Just ten young men had done this difficult job because of their courage, discipline and patience, leadership and, above all, love for the country. They had written a memorable chapter in the history of India's fight for freedom. These revolutionaries were Ramaprasad Bismil, Rajendra Lahiri, Thakur Roshan Singh, Sachindra Bakshi, Chadrasekhar Azad, Keshab Chakravarty, Banwari Lal, Mukundi Lal, Mammathnath Gupt and Ashfaqulla Khan.

A month passed after the Kakori dacoity, and yet no one was arrested. But the Government had spread a big net.

On the morning of September 26, 1925 Ramaprasad was arrested. Before the police could arrest Ashfaq, he had escaped from his home and hid in a sugarcane field half a mile from his home. The police grew tired of searching for Ashfaq. All except Ashfaq had been taken into custody. He managed to reach Kashi after a difficult journey and met a few friends in the Benares University. They advised him to live quietly at least for some time. With the help of these friends he went to Bihar. He got a job as a clerk in an engineering firm at Daltonganj in Palamau district. He worked in the firm for about ten months. This long and forced

rest became tiresome for him. So he went to Delhi to find out how he could go abroad and began making preparations. He met a Pathan friend from Shahjahanpur. They had been classmates at school. He was happy to meet Ashfaq after a long time. He took Ashfaq to his room and ordered a nice meal for him. They went on talking about old times till 11 o' clock at night. Then Ashfaq went back to his room.

The next morning Ashfaq was sound asleep. Suddenly there was a loud knock. Ashfaq was still sleepy-eyed as he opened the door. And at once he fell into the hands of the police. Friendship, duty and even the feeling of belonging to the same place - none of these could check the Pathan's greed for money. The Pathan had fed him, talked to him in a very friendly way and then had handed Ashfaq to the police.

The police wanted to use Ashfaq to suit their plans; they tried very hard to do so. An army officer, Tasadruk Khan, was in the police department and had rendered useful service to the British as their agent in Arabia during the First World War. He met Ashfaq in prison and tried to make him agree to give evidence against his former friends. But Ashfaq did not like his advice. The police charge -sheeted him in the court. By this time the Kakori case had progressed much; the case against Ashfaq was combined with it. A committee had been formed to defend the accused in the main case. Motilal Nehru was the chairman. There were eminent men like Jawaharlal, Sriprakasha, Acharya Narendra Dev, Govind Ballabh Pant and Chandra Bhanu Gupta on the committee.

Life in prison had made Ashfaq very pious. He said his prayers regularly and during Ramzan fasted very strictly. The main case and the complementary case relating to the Kakori train robbery came to an end. The Court of Justice under the British rule gave its judgement. Ramaprasad Bismil, Ashfaqulla Khan, Rajendra Lahiri and Roshan Singh were to be put to death; the others were given life sentences.

The whole country protested against the death sentences. Members of the Central Legislature petitioned the Viceroy to reduce their death sentences into life sentences. Appeals were sent to the Privy council, the highest court in those days. But British imperialism was thirsting for the blood of the Indian revolutionaries.

The four revolutionaries sentenced to death died with a smile on their lips and a prayer that they be born again in India so that they could fight again for the country's freedom. And so they became martyrs.

Ashfaq and Ramaprasad were poets just as they were revolutionaries. Ashfaq had composed poems mostly in Urdu and a few in Hindi. His pen names were Varasi and Hazarat. Ashfaqulla was an ideal revolutionary. His devotion to the cause he admired made him the foremost among those who gave their lives to win freedom for the country. Love for the motherland, clear thinking, courage, firmness and loyalty were embodied in Ashfaq to the hilt. He deserves to be remembered and cherished by all Indians for his noble qualities.

HALL OF MARTYRS: THE GREAT RAMPRASAD BISMIL II

Ram Prasad Bismil answered Lala Lajpat Rai's call to the nations youth to join the freedom struggle against the British. When Lalaji was beaten to death during a protest march, Bismil's friends Bhagat Singh and Sukhdev avenged the anger by shooting a British officer. Bismil with associates Chandrashekar Sharma Azad, Bhagawati Charan, Rajguru and others organized many a brave events. They printed literature, provided shelter to revolutionaries, made hand bombs and were a constant source of headache to the British Government. Most famous of them are the dare devil train robbery at Kakori and the bombing of the Punjab assembly.

Ramprasad Bismil was a brave revolutionary who gave up his life smilingly for the sake of the Motherland. He was persecuted by an enraged foreign government, hunted by the police and betrayed by follow workers. And yet he lit the fire of revolution to burn down the slavery. He was the brave leader of the Kakori Rail Dacoity episode. His poetry is also a lamp lighted at the altar of the Mother land.

Kakori is a village near Lucknow. It became famous, because the attack on the train took place near by.

It was the evening of the 9th of August 1925; the number eight down train was passing near Kakori. Ramaprasad and his nine revolutionary followers pulled the chain and stopped it. They looted the money belonging to the government, deposited in the Guard's carriage. Excepting that one passenger was killed by an accidental shot, there was no bloodshed.

This extremely well planned dacoity jolted the government. After a month of detailed preliminary inquiries and elaborate preparations the government cast its net wide for the revolutionaries. Arrest warrants were issued not only against the ten participants but also against other leaders of the Hindusthan Republican Association. With the lone exception of Chandrashekhar Azad, all participants were caught.

The case went on for over a year and a half, Ramaprasad, Ashfaqullah Roshan Singh and Rajendra Lahiri all four were sentenced to death, A strong campaign was organized throughout India to save the lives of these revolutionary heroes. All the leaders of public life appealed to the British Government to show mercy to the condemned men. But the Government was unyielding.

It was the 18th of December 1927. A middle-aged lady was waiting at the main gates of the Gorakhpur Central Jail. Her face was radiant but anxiety was writ large on it. She was eagerly waiting to be called into the prison.

By that time her husband also arrived there. He was surprised that his wife was there before him. He also sat down to wait for the call. Another young man came there. He was not related to them. He knew that the couple would be permitted to enter the prison.But how could he manage to enter? This was his problem.

The officials of the prison called in the husband and the wife. The young man followed them. The guard stopped him and rudely asked, "Who are you?"

"Permit him also, brother. He is my sister's son", the lady said in an entreating voice.

The guard relented.

All the three entered the prison to visit a freedom fighter that was to face his death on the morrow.

The freedom fighter was brought there in chains. They were like ornaments on him. This was the last time that he could see his mother, the last time he could address her as 'Mother'. At this thought grief welled up in him. He stood speechless and tears rolled down his cheeks.

In a firm voice the mother said, 'What is this, my son? I had thought of my son as a great hero. I was thinking that the British Government would shiver at the very mention of his name. I never thought that my son would be afraid of death. If you can die only in this way, weeping, why did you take up such activities?"

The officials were astounded at the firmness of the mother. The freedom fighter replied, "Mother dear, these are not tears of fear - the fear of death. These are tears of joy - joy at beholding so brave as mother!"

The brave son of that brave mother was Ramaprasad Bismil. He was the leader of the famous Kakori Rail Dacoity case.

The last meeting ended.

Next morning Ramaprasad got up earlier than usual, bathed and said his morning

prayers. He wrote his last letter to his mother. Then he sat down with a calm mind awaiting his death.

The officials came and removed his chains. They took him from the prison cell-towards his death.

He was completely untroubled and walked like a hero. The officials were amazed. As he moved to the gallows he joyfully chanted Vande Matharam' and 'Bharath Matha ki Jai'. At the top of his voice he shouted down with the British Empire." Then he calmly recited prayers like 'Vishwani deva savithaha dunithani.... And embraced death.

As he was being executed, there was a strong guard around the prison. When he was dead the officials brought out the dead body. Not only his parents but also hundreds of his countrymen were waiting in tears.The people of Gorakhpur deco rated the body of the brave son of Bharath as befitted a hero and carried it in a procession. Flowers were showered on the body, and the last rites were performed.

Ramaprasad Bismil joined the select band of martyrs who dreamt of a free India and made the supreme sacrifice, so that the dream might come true.

'Bismil' is the penname of Ramaprasad. As 'Bismil' he is well known as a great revolutionary poet in Hindi. At the end of his autobiography, he has reproduced some selected poems. Every line of his poems throbs with patriotic fervor.

In one poem he prays: 'Even if I have to face death a thousand times for the sake of my Motherland, I shall not be sorry. Oh Lord!Grant me a hundred births in Bharath. But grant me this, too, that each time I may give up my life in the service of the Mother land.'

In a poem written just before going to the gallows, he prays: 'Oh Lord! Thy will be done. You are unique. Neither my tears nor I will endure. Grant me this boon, that to my last breath and the last drop of my blood, I may think of you and be immersed in your work.'

5

Rash Behari Bose

Rashbehari Bose May 25, 1886-January 21, 1945 was a revolutionary leader against the British Raj in India and was one of the key organisers of the Ghadar conspiracy and later, the Indian National Army.

EARLY LIFE

Bose was born in the Subaldaha village of Burdwan, in the province of Bengal. He had his education in Chandannagar, where his father, Vinodebehari Bose, was stationed.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

Though interested in revolutionary activities early in his life, he left Bengal to shun the Alipore bomb case (1908). At Dehradun he worked as a head clerk at the Forest Research Institute. There, through Amarendra Chatterjee of the Jugantar led by Jatin Mukherjee, he secretly got involved with the revolutionaries of Bengal and, thanks to Jatindra Nath Banerjee alias Niralamba Swami - the earliest political disciple of Sri Aurobindo - he came across eminent revolutionary members of the Arya Samaj in the United Provinces(currently U.P.) and the Punjab. Following the attempt to assassinate Lord Hardinge, Rash Behari was forced to go into hiding. He was hunted by the colonial police due to his active participation in the failed bomb throwing attempt directed at the Governor General and Viceroy Lord Charles Hardinge in Delhi (the bomb was actually thrown by Basanta Kumar Biswas, a disciple of Amarendra Chatterjee). He returned to Dehra Dun by the night train and joined the office the next day as though

nothing had happened. Further, he organised a meeting of loyal citizens of Dehradun to condemn the dastardly attack on the Viceroy.

Who on earth could imagine that he was the same person who had masterminded and executed the most outstanding revolutionary action. Lord Hardinge in his My Indian Years has described the whole incident in an interesting way. During the flood relief work in Bengal, in 1913, he came in contact with Jatin Mukherjee in whom he "discovered a real leader of men," who "added a new impulse" to Rash Behari's failing zeal. Thus,during WW I he became extensively involved as one of the leading figures of the Ghadar Conspiracy that attempted to trigger a mutiny in Inda in February 1915. Trusted and tried Ghadrites were sent to several cantonments to infiltrate into the army. The idea of the Jugantar leaders was that with the war raging in Europe most of the soldiers had gone out of India and the rest could be easily won over. The revolution failed and most of the revolutionaries were arrested. But Rash Behari managed to escape British intelligence and reached Japan in 1915.

INDIAN NATIONAL ARMY

Bose was instrumental in persuading the Japanese authorities to stand by the Indian nationalists and ultimately to support actively the Indian freedom struggle abroad. Bose convened a conference in Tokyo on March 28-30, 1942, which decided to establish the Indian Independence League. At the conference he moved a motion to raise an army for Indian liberation. He convened the second conference of the League at Bangkok on June 22, 1942. It was at this conference that a resolution was adopted to invite Subhas Chandra Bose to join the League and take its command as its president.

The Indian prisoners of war captured by the Japanese in the Malaya and Burma fronts were encouraged to join the Indian Independence League and become the soldiers of the Indian National Army (INA), the military wing of Bose's Indian National League. But his rise to actual power and glory was unfortunately terminated by an action of the Japanese military command, which expelled him and his general Mohan Singh from the INA

leadership. But though he fell from grace, his organisational structure remained, and it was on the organisational spadework of Rashbehari Bose that Subhash Chandra Bose later built the Indian National Army (also called 'Azad Hind Fauj'). Before his death, the Japanese Government honoured him with the 'Second Order of the Merit of the Rising Sun'.

Gadar Movement is the saga of courage, valor and determination of overseas Indians who had come to Canada and the United States either for higher education or for economic opportunities. They imbibed the fire and zeal of revolutionaries and became the trail blazers of freedom struggle for their motherland, India. They may have lived ordinary lives but they left an extra-ordinary legacy.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, both India and Canada were British dominions, so, Indians had easier access to emigrate to Canada. The new immigrants were hard working and accepted lower wages, so some Canadian companies publicized the economic and job opportunities available in Canada to seek more cheap labor from India. During the first few years, every year about 2000 immigrants, mostly Punjabi farmers and laborers were permitted to come. As the number of immigrants increased, the locals felt threatened by labor competition from the hardy and adventurous Punjabis. Fear of labor competition led to racial antagonism and demands for exclusionary laws from cheap foreign Asian workers. In 1909, severe immigration restrictions virtually ended legal Indian immigration to Canada.

When Indian immigrants saw the doors closing on them in Canada, they started coming to the United States which needed more people to do hard labor work to build new communities. In the U.S, they faced many difficulties, suffered numerous hardships and encountered rampant discrimination. Initially, they could find only menial jobs, but over a period of time and with their hard work and determination, many of them became successful farmers with their own land.

Within a span of few years, number of immigrant workers had swelled, so they starting facing widespread hostility which led to racial riots, resulting in certain cases, a loss of life and property. Like Canada, the United States, which had initially

welcomed the Asian labor to do menial jobs, enacted Asian exclusionary laws to bar Asians emigrating to the United States.

For discriminatory treatment and damages in race riots, the Japanese and Chinese governments sympathized with their overseas nationals and negotiated with the American government for compensation for life and property losses. But the British Indian Government would not make any representation to the U.S. Government for similar losses. Indians soon realized the difference between the citizens of a "slave" country and those ruled by their own people.

The United States had also welcomed qualified Indian students seeking admissions in the American universities. However, upon graduation, they were not able to get jobs commensurate with their qualifications. The discriminatory practices were against the very ideals of liberty and freedom they had seen in their University environment. The Indian students attributed the racial prejudice and discrimination to their being nationals of a subjugated country. They were motivated to get rid of the foreign rule in India and were determined to fight for freedom for their motherland. They also started fostering feelings of patriotism and nationalism among their fellow Indian Immigrants.

Many Indians and particularly Indian students in the USA, Canada, England, Germany, and France, started advocating freedom for their motherland, India from British serfdom. They formed organizations or groups for India's freedom. Taraknath Das, a student, started publishing a magazine Free Hindustan in 1907 in Seattle, advocating armed rebellion against the British rule in India and also formed "East India Association" in 1911; G. D. Kumar started a Punjabi paper Swadesh Sewak in Vancouver while Shymji Krishna Varma founded Indian Home Rule Society in London.

In the United States, Har Dyal who had come from England after relinquishing his scholarship and studies at Oxford University was identified with nationalist activities. He inspired many students studying at the University of California at Berkeley. Two of his many student followers, Katar Singh Sarabha and Vishnu Govind Pingle later on played very prominent role in the Gadar movement. Dyal's fervor for India's freedom spread beyond the

university campuses. A meeting of some patriotic and enlightened Indians was called on April 23, 1913, in Astoria, Oregon, where Har Dyal, Bhai Parmanand and others passionately spoke for throwing the British out of India.

It was at this meeting that Hindustan Association of the Pacific Coast was formed with a major objective to liberate India with the force of arms from British colonialism, just as Americans had done more than a century ago, and help establish a free and independent India with equal rights for all. Sohan Singh Bhakna was elected President, Hardayal, General Secretary, and Pandit Kanshi Ram Mardauli, Treasurer. Lala Har Dayal who had been a faculty member at Stanford University for about two years, was the central figure and the force behind the newly formed organization.

The headquarters of Hindustan Association of the Pacific Coast was established in San Francisco, which served as a base for coordination of all the activities of the association. A building was purchased with funds raised from the community, primarily Punjabi farmers and farm and lumber mill workers and was named Yugantar Ashram.

The association began publishing a magazine, Gadar, for free distribution to promote the aims, objectives and activities of the organization. Gadar, literally means revolt or mutiny, was published in Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi, among other languages. "The first issue of the journal Gadar was in Urdu and was published on November 1, 1913. An edition of the journal was brought out next month in Gurmukhi and in May 1914 a Gujrati edition of the journal was also published." Says Anil Ganguly in his book "Ghadar Revolution in America."

The Gadar publication exposed the British imperialism and called upon the Indian people to unite and rise up against British rule and throw the British out of India. It carried articles on the conditions of the people of India under British Rule and also on problems of racial attacks and discrimination against Indians in the USA and Canada.

The publication Gadar, over a period of time, became well known among Indians and the Hindustan Association of the

Pacific Coast itself became known as the Gadar party. Besides Gadar, the group brought out various publications to raise the consciousness of the Indian people to revolt against the British. Special issues of Gadar were also printed in Nepali, Bengali, Pashto, Gujrati, as well as in many other languages.

Gadar literature was sent to Indian revolutionaries in India, Europe, Canada, Singapore, The Philippines, Hong Kong, China, Malysia, Singapore, Burma, Egypt, Turkey, and Afghanistan. In a short period of time, publications from the Yugantar Asram, particularly the Gadar magazine became very popular. The British government got alarmed and used every means to stop the circulation of Gadar and other such publications, particularly in India. The magazine, being the principal patriotic literature, reached many people; even if one copy reached India or to a fellow revolutionary elsewhere, multiple copies were made for circulation.

Hindustan Association was barely a few months old when under pressure from the British Indian Government, Har Dyal was arrested by the U.S. Government. He was released on bail on March 24, 1914 but soon left for Switzerland and then to Germany.

The sudden departure of Har Dyal did create some vacuum in the organizational structure of the association but it did not cause the death of the organization. The seed of revolt that Har Dyal sowed, had developed into a formidable organization. Many committed and dynamic volunteers continued to work tirelessly and pursued the planned activities of the association.

In Germany, Har Dyal continued to promote his mission, independence for India. He knew that Germans had great sympathy with the Gadar movement because they and Gadarites had common enemy, the British. Har Dyal, along with Virendra Nath Chattopadhyay, younger brother of politician-poetess Sarojani Naidu, Barkatullah, Bhupendra Nath Datta, brother of Swami Vivekananda, Ajit Singh, Champak Raman Pillai, Tarak Nath Das, and Bhai Bhagwan Singh formed Berlin Indian Committee in September 1914, also known as the Indian Revolutionary Society.

The objectives of the society were to arrange financial assistance from German Government for revolutionary activities and propaganda work in different countries of the world, plan training of volunteer force of Indian fighters and arrange transportation of arms and ammunitions to reach the Gadarites for a revolt against the British Government in India.

The war between Germany and England broke out in August, 1914 and created a golden opportunity for gadarites to expel the English from India while British troops would be busy fighting war at the front. The gadarites started forceful campaign to mobilize overseas Indians in Singapore, Burma, Egypt, Turkey and Afghanistan and particularly Punjabis in Canada and the USA to go to India and launch revolution. They drew plans to infiltrate the Indian army and excite the soldiers to fight not for but against the British Empire and free India from the shackles of British imperialism.

The Indian Revolutionary Society in Berlin had arranged for substantial financial aid from Germany. The German Embassy in Washington had engaged a German National in the United States to liaison with the Gadar leadership in San Francisco . Several ships were commissioned or chartered to carry arms and ammunitions and batches of Indian revolutionaries, about 6000, to India.

Besides Germany, the gadarites also sought help from anti-British governments. In December 1915, they established a Free Hindustan government-in-exile in Kabul, Afghanistan, with Raja Mohinder Pratap as President, Maulavi Barkatullah as Prime Minister and Champakaran Pillai as Foreign Minister. The government-in-exile tried to establish diplomatic relationships with countries opposed to the British in World war l such as Turkey, Germany, Japan, etc.

The gadarites also established contact with the Indian troops at Hong Kong, Singapore, and in some other countries and hoped for their participation in the uprising against the British.

The British Government tried to suppress the Gadar Movement and had hired agents to penetrate the Gadar party almost from the beginning. Har Dyal used the columns of Gadar to caution

his compatriots against British spies. The traitors of the Gadar movement leaked out the secret plan to the British spies. As a result, the ships carrying arms and ammunitions never reached India. Germany was originally planning to send more ships carrying arms and ammunition to India, lost interest in the venture after seeing the fate of original vessels.

Many gadarites and volunteer fighters were taken captives upon reaching India. Some of the active gadarites who escaped arrests, including Kartar Singh Sarabha and Vishnu Govind Pingle, made alliance with Ras Behari Bose and other known revolutionaries in India. They had come to India to overthrow the British rule and wanted to unite and work with all those forces that were working to liberate India. They tried hard to mobilize the people and infiltrate into various units of the armed forces. But the British spies out maneuvered them. They also could not get the support of Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of India's Freedom movement, who had already committed full co-operation with the British Indian Government.

Before leaving for India, the Gadarites were given the impression that India was ready for a revolution. So, when the World War 1 provided a golden opportunity for them to attain their goal, they hurried homeward for revolution.

What an irony; while the gadarites had gone to India to fight willingly for the freedom of their motherland, the Indian leadership openly and willingly co-operated with the British prolonging India's serfdom; while the overseas Indians prayed in Gurudwaras and temples for the success of Gadarites' mission, the people in India flocked to Gurudwaras and temples to pray for the victory of the British.

The Gadarites had a flame of liberty lit in their hearts, and did not hesitate to make any sacrifice for the cause of freedom, dignity and prosperity of their motherland. They fought valiantly for their cause; several Gadarites in India were imprisoned, many for life, and some were hanged.

In the United States too, many Gadarites and Germans who supported Gadar activities, were prosecuted and some were incarcerated for varying terms of imprisonment. Although the

movement did not achieve its stated objective, but it awakened the sleeping India and left a major impact on India's struggle for freedom. The heroism, courage and sacrifices of the Gadarites inspired many freedom fighters to continue their mission.

A prominent Indian writer, Khushwant Singh, wrote in Illustrated Weekly, on February 26, 1961, "In the early months of World war I, an ambitious attempt to free their country was made by Indians living overseas, particularly in the United States and Canada.

Although the overwhelming majority of the Gadrites were Sikhs and the centers of revolutionary activity were the Sikh temples in Canada, the United States, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Singapore, many of the leaders were of other parties and from different parts of India, Hardyal, Ras Bihari Bose, Barkutullah, Seth Husain Rahim, Tarak Nath Das and Vishnu Ganesh Pingley. …… The Gadar was the first organized violent bid for freedom after the rising of 1857. Many hundreds paid the price with their lives."

6

Savarkar

THE VOLCANO: SWADHARMA AND SWARAJ

It is a simple truism patent even to the uneducated that the most tiny house cannot be built without a foundation strong enough to support its weight. When writers who profess to write the history of the Revolution that was enacted in India in 1857 ignore this common sense principle and do not try to discuss the real causes that led to it and impudently maintain that the vast edifice of the Revolution was built on a blade of straw, they must either be fools or, what is more probable, knaves. Anyway, it is certain that they are unfit for the holy work of the historian.

In all great religious and political revolutions, it is almost impossible to connect together links apparently inconsistent, without thoroughly understanding the principles which are at their root.

On seeing a great work of machinery composed of innumerable screws and wheels doing work of tremendous magnitude if we do not understand how the power is produced, we may feel bewildering astonishment, but never the inner pleasure due to knowledge.

When writers describe such stirring events as the French Revolution or the religious revolution of Holland, the very splendour and magnitude of the crises they paint, often, dazzle and confuse their mind's eye and they rarely gather sufficient coolness and courage to go deep into the underlying principles. But without an exposition of the hidden causes and the mysterious forces that worked beneath, the essence of a revolution can never

be made plain. And therefore it is that history attaches more importance to the exposition of principles than to mere narrative.

While searching after principles, historians often commit another mistake. For every act, there are various causes, direct and indirect, general and particular, accidental and necessary. In their proper classification lies the true skill of the historian. In this process of classification many historians get mixed up and make the accidental into a necessary cause.

These make themselves as ridiculous as the judge in the story who, in a case of arson, put all the responsibility on the match instead of the man who struck it. The real importance of any event can never be understood by this confusion of causes. Not merely that, but mankind begins positively to curse the memory of men who are represented as having started, with a light heart and private selfish motives, a Revolution in the course of which countless lives are lost and immense expanses of country devastated. And therefore, in writing the history of any event in general, and of revolutionary movements in particular, a writer cannot give a true idea of them by means of simple description, or even by tracing them backwards to accidental causes. An upright and impartial historian must try to discover the foundations on which the revolutionary structure was erected. He must try to discover and discuss fundamental causes.

Mazzini, in a critical article on Carlyle's French Revolution, has said that every revolution must have had a fundamental principle. Revolution is a complete rearrangement in the life of historic man. A revolutionary movement cannot be based on a flimsy and momentary grievance. It is always due to some all-moving principle for which hundreds and thousands of men fight, before which thrones totter, crowns are destroyed and created, existing ideals are shattered and new ideals break forth, and for the sake of which vast masses of people think lightly of shedding sacred human blood. The moving spirits of revolutions are deemed holy or unholy in proportion as the principle underlying them is beneficial or wicked. As in private life, so also in history, the deeds of an individual or a nation are judged by the character of the motive. If we forget this test, we cannot appreciate the vast difference between the empire-building wars

of Alexander the Great and Italy's fight for liberty under Garibaldi. Just as to decide about the merits of these two different events one has to consider the prime motive of the chief actors in those wars, so also to write a full history of a revolution means necessarily the tracing of all the events of that revolution back to their source,- the motive, the innermost desire to those who brought it about. This is the telescope which will show clearly the lights and shadows obscured by the blurred presentation of partial and prejudiced historians. When a beginning is made in this manner, order appears in the apprent chaos of inconsistent facts, crooked lines become straight, and straight lines appear crooked, light appears where darkness is, and darkness spreads over light, what appeared ugly becomes fair and what looked beautiful is seen to be deformed. And expectedly, or unexpectedly, but in a clear form, the Revolution comes into the light of real history.

The history of the tremendous Revolution that was enacted in India in the year 1857 has never been written in this scientific spirit by any author, Indian or foreign. And hence there are current throughout the world most extraordinary, misleading, and unjust ideas about that Revolutionary War. English authors have committed, in this respect, all the faults noted above. Some of them have not made any attempt beyond merely describing the events, but most of them have written the history in a wicked and partial spirit. Their prejudiced eye could not or would not see the root principle of that Revolution. Is it possible, can any sane man maintain, that that all-embracing Revolution could have taken place without a principle to move it? Could that vast tidal wave from Peshawar to Calcutta have risen in flood without a fixed intention of drowning something by means of its force? Could it be possible that the sieges of Delhi, the massacres of Cawnpore, the banner of the Empire, heroes dying for it, could it ever be possible that such noble and inspiring deeds have happened without a noble and inspiring end? Even a small village market does not take place without an end, a motive; how, then, can we believe that that great market opened and closed without any purpose- the great market whose shops were on every battle field from Peshawar to Calcutta, where kingdoms and empires were being exchanged, and where the only current coin was blood? No,

no. The market was neither opened nor closed without a purpose. English historians have always ignored this point, not because it is difficult to ascertain it, but because it is against their interests to admit the truth.

Even more deceptive than this indifference, and one which changes or distorts the whole spirit of the Revolution of 1857 is the other device of English historians copied by their Indian sycophants,- the device, namely, of describing the rumour as to the greased cartridges as the moving cause of the Revolution. An Indian writer drawing inspiration from English history and English money says, "Foolish people went mad simply at the rumour that cartridges were greased with cows' and pigs' fat. Did anyone inquire as to whether the report was true? One man said and another believed; because the second became disaffected, a third joined him, and so like a procession of blind men, a company of inconsiderate fools arose, and rebellion broke out." We propose to discuss later on whether people blindly believed the rumour about cartridges. But it will be plain to anyone who has read even the English historians closely and thought about the matter, that a great attempt has been made to father all the responsibility of the Revolution on this rumour.

It isnot surprising that to one, who thinks that a mighty rising like that of '57 can be produced by such trifles, it was only ' a company of inconsiderate fools.' If the Revolution had been due only to the cartridges, why did Nana Sahib, the Emperor of Delhi, the Queen of Jhansi, and Khan Bahadur Khan of Rohilkhand join it? These were not surely going to serve in the English army, nor were they compelled to break the cartridges with their teeth! If the rising were due wholly or chiefly to the cartridges, it would have stopped suddenly as soon as the English Governor-General issued a proclamation that they should not be used any more! He gave them permission to make cartridges with their own hand, But instead of doing so, or ending the whole by leaving the Company's service altogether, the sepoys rose to fight in battle. Not only the sepoys but thousands of peaceful citizens and Rajas and Maharajas also rose, who had no direct or indirect connection with the army. It is therefore clear that if was not these accidental things that roused the spirit of the sepoy and the civilian, kind

and pauper, Hindu and Mahommedan. Equally misleading is the theory that the rising was due to the annexation of Oudh. How many were fighting, taking their lives in their hands, that had no interest whatsoever in the fortunes of the Oudh dynasty? Then, what was their motive in fighting? The Nabob of Oudh himself was imprisoned in the fort of Calcutta; and according to the English historians, his subjects were very much disaffected under his regime. Then, why did Talukdars, soldiers, and almost every one of his subjects unsheath their swords for him? A 'Hindu' of Bengal wrote an essay in England at that time about the Revolution. In it the 'Hindu' says, 'You have no idea how many simple and kind-hearted people who had never seen the Nabob, nor were ever again likely to see, wept in their huts when the sorrows of the Nabob were being related before them. And you do not also know how many soldiers were daily taking an oath, after the tears had flown, to avenge this insult on Wajid Ali Shah, as if a calamity had falle on themselves in person.' Why did the Sepoy feel this sympathy with the Nabob and why did eyes which had never seen the Nabob glisten with tears? It is plain, therefore, that the Revolution did not break out simply on account of the annexation of Oudh.

The fear of greased cartridges and the annexation of Oudh were only temporary and accidental causes. To turn these into real causes would never help us in understanding the real spirit of the Revolution. If we were to take them as the real moving causes, it would mean that, without these, the Revolution would not have taken placed- that without the rumour of greased cartridges and without the annexation of Outh, the Revolution would not have been there. It would be impossible to find a theory more foolish and more deceptive. If there had been no fear of the cartridges, the principle underlying that fear would have cropped up in some other form and produced a Revolution just the same. Even if Oudh had not been annexed, the principle of annexation would have manifested itself in the destruction of some other kingdom. The real causes of the French Revolution were not simply the high prices of grain, the Bastille, the King's leaving Paris, or the feasts. These might explain some incidents of the Revolution but not the Revolution as a whole. The kidnapping of Sita was only the

incidental cause of the fight between Rama and Ravana. The real causes were deeper and more inward.

What, then, were the real causes and motives of this Revolution? What were they that they could make thousands of heroes unsheath their swords and flash them on the battlefield? What were they that they had the power to brighten up pale and rusty crowns and raise from the dust abased flags? What were they that for them men by the thousand willingly poured their blood year after year? What were they that Moulvies preached them, learned Brahmins blessed them, that for their success prayers went up to Heaven from the mosques of Delhi and the temples of Benares?

These great principles were Swadharma and Swaraj. In the thundering roar of 'Din, Din,' which rose to protect religion, when there were evident signs of a cunning, dangerous, and destructive attack on religion dearer than life, and in the terrific blows dealt at the chain of slavery with the holy desire of acquiring Swaraj, when it was evident that chains of political slavery had been put round them and their God-given liberty wrested away by subtle tricks- in these two, lies the root-principle of the Revolutionary War. In what other history is the principle of love of one's religion and love of one's country manifested more nobly than in ours? However much foreign and partial historians might have tried to paint our glorious land in dark colours, so long as the name of Chitore has not been erased from the pages of our history, so long as the names of Pratapaditya and Guru Govind Singh are there, so long the principles of Swadharma and Swaraj will be embedded in the bone and marrow of all the sons of Hindusthan! They might be darkened for a time by the mist of slavery-even the sun has its clouds-but very soon the strong light of these self-same principles pierces through the mist and chases it away. Never before were there such a number of causes for the universal spreading of these traditional and noble principles as there were in 1857.

These particular reasons revived most wonderfully the slightly unconscious feelings of Hindusthan, and the people began to prepare for the right for Swadharma and Swaraj. In his Proclamation of the establishment of Swaraj, the Emperor of Delhi says, 'Oh, you sons of Hindusthan, if we make up our mind we

can destroy the enemy in no time! We will destroy the enemy and will release from dread our religion and our country, dearer to us than life itself'. What is holier in this world than such a Revolutionary War, a war for the noble principles propounded in this sentence, 'release from dead our religion and our country, dearer to us than life itself'? The seed of the Revolution of 1857 is in this holy and inspiring idea, clear and explicit, propounded from the throne of Delhi, THE PROTECTION OF RELIGION AND COUNTRY. In the Proclamation issued at Bareilly, he says "Hindus and Mahomedans of India! Arise! Brethren, arise! Of all the gifts of God, the most gracious is that of Swaraj. Will the oppressive Demon who has robbed us of it by deceit be able to keep it away from us for ever? Can such an act against the will of God stand for ever? No, no. The English have committed so many atrocities that the cup of their sins is already full. To add to it they have got now the wicked desire to destroy our holy religion! Are you going to remain idle even now?

God does not wish that you should remain so; for he has inspired in the hearts of Hindus and Mahomedans the desire to turn the English out of our country. And by the grace of God, and your valour, they will soon be so completely defeated that in this our Hindusthan there will not remain even the least trace of them! In this our army, the differences of small and great shall be forgotten, and equality shall be the rule; for, all who draw the sword in this holy war for the defence of religion are equally glorious. They are brethren, there is no rank among them. Therefore, I again say to all my Hindi brethren, 'Arise and jump into battlefield for this divinely ordained and supreme duty! " The man who, after seeing such magnificent utterances by the Revolutionary leaders, does not understand its principles is, as we said, either a fool or a knave.

What stronger evidence is needed to prove that Indian warriors drew their swords at the time for Swardharma and Swaraj, feeling it the duty of every man to fight for the rights given to man by God? These Proclamations issued at different times and placed during the war make it unnecessary to dilate more on its principles. These Proclamations were not issued by nonentities; but they were orders issued from adorable and powerful thrones. They

were burning expressions of the agitated feelings of the time. In these the real heart of the Nation had spoken out, when at the time of war, there was no occasion to conceal real sentiments through pressure or fear. This trmendous, heroic shout, 'Swadharma and Swaraj,' proclaims to the world the character of the Revolution in which 'all who draw the sword are equally glorious.'

But were these two principles understood as different and exclusive of each other? At least, orientals have never had the idea that Swadharma and Swaraj have no connection with each other. The Eastern mind has maintained a full and traditional belief, as is also said by Mazzini, that there is no vast barrier between Heaven and earth but that the two are ends of one and the same thing. Our idea of Swadharma, too, is not contradictory to that of Swaraj. The two are connected as means and end. Swaraj without Swadharma is despicable and Swadharma without Swaraj is powerless.

The sword of material power, Swaraj, should always be ready drawn for our object, our safety is the other world, Swadharma. This trend of the Eastern mind will be often found in its history. The reason why, in the East all revolutions take a religious form, nay more, the reason why Eastern history knows of no revolutions unconnected with religion, lies in the all-embracing meaning that the word 'Dharma' has. That this dual principle of Swadharma and Swaraj, always seen in the history of India, appeared also in the Revolution of 1857, should be a matter of no surprise. We have already referred to the first Proclamation of the Emperor of Delhi. Afterwards when Delhi was beseiged by the English and the war was at its height, the Emperor issued another Proclamation addressing all Indians thus: 'Why has God given us wealth, land, power? They are not for individual pleasure, but they are give for the holy object of defence of our religion'. But where are now the means to attain this holy end? As said in the Proclamation given above, where is the gift of Swaraj, the greatest of all the gifts of God?

Where is wealth? Where is land? Where is power? In the plague of slavery, all this divine independence is all but dead. In the above Proclamation, in order to show how the plague of

slavery was destroying India, full descriptions are given as to how the Kingdoms of Nagpur, Ayodhya, and Jhansi were tramples down into dust. And it awakens the people to the fact that they are guilty of the sin of destroying religion in the house of God, having lost these means of defending religion. The command of God is, Obtain Swaraj, for that is the chief key to the protection of Dharma. He who does not attempt to acquire Swaraj, he who sits silent in slavery, he is an atheist and hater of Religion. Therefore, rise for Swadharma and acquire Swaraj!

Rise for Swadharma and acquire Swaraj !" What divine events in the history of India are due to the realisation of this prionciple! The poet-saint Ramdas gave the same dictum to the Mahrattas 250 years ago. "Die for your Dharma, kill the enemies of your Dharma while you are dying; in this way fight and kill, and take back your kingdom !"

This alone is the principle in the Revolutionary War of 1857. This is its mental science. The true and clear form, is the above verse of Ramdas.

Seeing at it through this telescope, what a spectacle comes into view! The war fought for Swadharma does not lose its lustre by defeat. The splendour of Guru Govind Singh's life is none the less, because his efforts did not immediately succeed at the time. Nor do we think the less of the rising of 1848 in Italy, because the Revolution failed completely at that time.

Justin McCarthy says: "The fact was that throughout the greater part of the northern and north-western provinces of the Indian peninsula, there was a rebellion of the native races against the English power. It was not alone the Sepoy who rose in revolt-it was not by any means a merely military mutiny. It was a combination of military grievance, national hatred, and religious fanaticism against the English occupation of India. The native princes and the native soldiers were in it. The Mahomedan and the Hindu forgot their old religious antipathies to join against the Christian. Hatred and panic were the stimulants of that great rebellious movement. The quarrel about the greased cartridges was but the chance spark flung in among all the combustible material. If that spark had not lighted it, some other would have done the work ...... The Meerut Sepoys found, in a moment, a leader, a flag, and a cause, and the mutiny was transformed into a revolutionary war. When they reached the Jumna, glittering in the morning light, they had all unconsciously seized one of the great critical moments of history and converted a military mutiny into a national and religious war! "

Charles Ball writes: "At length, the torrent overflowed the banks, and saturated the moral soil of India. It was then expected that those waves would overwhelm and destroy the entire European element and that, when the torrent of rebellion should again confine itself within bounds, patriotic India, freed from its alien rulers, would bow only to the independent sceptre of a native price. The movement, now, assumed a more important aspect. It became the rebellion of a whole people incited to outrage by resentment for imaginary wrongs and sustained in their delusions by hatred and fanaticism."

White writes in his Complete History of the Great Sepoy War: "I should be wanting in faithfulness as an historian if I failed to record with admiration the courage displayed by the

Oudhians. The great fault of the Oudh Talukdars from a moral point of view was their having made a common cause with the murderous mutineers. But for this, they might have been regarded as noble patriots, fighting in a good cause, pro rege et pro patria, for the King and the Motherland"-for Swaraj and Swadesh!

THE CHAIN OF CAUSES

If it is true that the question whether India, bounded by the Himalayas on the north and the Ocean on tne south, should be completely independent or not, was being solved on the battlefields of the war of 1857, then the chain of causes begins from that day in 1757 when the question was first raised. On the 23rd of June in 1757, the question whether India should belong to the Indians or to the English was openly discussed, for the first time, on the field of Plassey. On that very day and on that very field, where it was first discussed, were sown the seeds of the Revolution. If Plassey had not been there, the War of 1857 also would not have taken place. Though a century had rolled by, the memory of that day was fresh in the heart of Hindusthan. In proof of this, witness

the terrible scene on the 23rd day of June 1857, in Northern India. In the vast country from the Punjab up to Calcutta, wherever there was an open field, thousands of Revolutionaries were fighting the English simultaneously in different places, from morning till evening, after openly challenging them saying: "To-day we are going to avenge Plassey !"

When, on the battlefield of Plassey, India had sworn to fight a war of freedom, England was, as it were, anxious to hasten the day of its fulfilment as much as possible. For, Englishmen did not rest with sowing the seeds of the Revolutionary War at Plassey, but they made enormous efforts to encourage the growth of the plant all over India. Warren Hastings tended the plant in Benares, Rohilkhand, and Bengal. Wellesley did the same in the fertile fields of Mysore, Assai, Poona, Satara, and Northern India. This was not done without strong efforts, for the ground had to be ploughed not with ordinary ploughs but with swords and guns! What would ordinary ploughs avail against Shanwar Palace, the heights of Sahyadri, the forts of Agra, and the throne of Delhi? When these rocky portions had been broken and crushed, the smaller pieces left out by mistake were also next broken. The smaller princes fell under the strokes of English perfidy, oppression, and tyranny.

The English did not even feed well or pat on the back the brutes by whose strength they effected all these conquests. For a hundred years, they had been oppressing and maltreating the sepoys in their army. When the soldiers of the Mahrattas or the Nizam won important victories, they used to get Jahgirs and rewards. But the Company gave nothing but 'sweet words' of praise. The sepoys, whose swords won India for the English, were so barbarously treated that General Arthur Wellesley would drive the wounded sepoys to the mouth of guns instead of sending them to the hospital!

While the English had thus been sowing the seeds of discontent and hatred in almost all parts of Hindusthan, the time soon came when it appeared that their efforts would soon be crowned with success. The danger to the independence of India was first perceived by Nana Farnavis of Poona and Hyder Sahib of Mysore. From that day onwards the presence of this danger began to be

seen, faintly at least, by the princes of India; and its effect was markedly seen in the "mutiny" at Vellore. This rising at Vellore was a rehearsal of the great rising of 1857. Just as in a theatre, before the actual performance, several rehearsals have to be gone through, so in history, before the actual and final attainment of freedom, in order to harmonise the whole performance, several rehearsals in the shape of risings are necessary. In Italy, the rehearsals started as early as 1821, and only in 1861 was the play successful. The Rising at Vellore in 1806 was such a rehearsal on a small scale. In this rising, the sepoys had been won over by the princes and people.

At markets, preachers disguised as Fakirs were preaching. To indicate the time of rising, chapatees even had been distributed. Hindus and Mahomedans together had risen in the name of religion and liberty. But this being the first rehearsal, they fell even as they were rising. Never mind! Before the final performance, how many rehearsals have to be gone through! Only the actors should boldly stick to their tasks and never cease their rehearsals. And for producing this drama, both England and India were working day and night without rest. And those that were making ready to take part in the play were not common, poor, or ignorant folk. The Gadi of Tanjore, and Masnad of Mysore, the Raigarh of Sahyadri, the Dewan-I-Khas of Delhi were among the select actors. And to crown all, Lord Dalhousie landed on the shores of Hindusthan in 1846. There is not now much time left for commencing the task which was sworn to on the battlefield of Plassey.

From the above chain of causes, it will be clearly seen that, before Dalhousie landed in India, the seeds of discontent had gone deep, very dedep, all over Hindusthan. Rajas and Maharajas, deprived of their kingdoms by the English, were burning in their hearts. The fact that the centenary of Plassey was approaching inspired a strange feeling of hope among the people; and in the very armies of the English, the sepoys were secretly chafing with rage and hatred. Even if India had had at this time a Viceroy who would strive to allay this secret discontent, it is very doubtful how far his efforts would have been successful. The question now was not whether the Company's rule should be good or bad; but the

only question that used to be asked all over the country was whether the rule should exist at all.

The one other force that was necessary for making an attempt to solve definitely this question was supplied when Dalhousie became viceroy; for he gave up the policy of coating poison pills with sugar before administering them to the victim, and began a system of open and direct oppression which did not fail to burn its way into the hearts of the masses.

Lord Dalhousie is described, by English historians, as one of the founders of the English Empire. This fact alone is sufficient to form an estimate of his capacity and character. In a country where unjust wars of conquest and oppression of foreign nationalities and races are universally popular, it is no wonder that those who have committed the greatest injustice and oppression are the most honoured. Thus, he who is most unjust is deemed the most capable, and one has no better way of proving himself a great man in such a country than by committing a climax of injustice. In such an Empire, where there is such an emulation of injustice and oppression, Lord Dalhousie was given the significant title of a 'founder' ; it is impossible to find a more suitable word to describe his character. With the result of a hundred years of wicked English policy behind him, obstinate by nature, possessed of boundless self-confident, his flesh and blood permitted by the glory and pride of an unjust Empire, this bold, if not clever, man landed on the shores of out land saying openly, "I will level the land of Hindusthan."

As soon as Dalhousie landed, he saw at once that so long as Ranjit Singh's lions lived in the Panjab, it was impossible to achieve, the object dear to his heart of levelling Hindusthan. He, therefore, determined to throw somehow or other the lion of the Panjab in the cage of Slavery. But the Panjab lion had no ordinary claws. Seeing his cave threatened, he rushed out of the lair at Chillianwalla and, with a terrible stroke of his paw, mauled the enemy and made him bleed. But, alas! While the lion was standing at the mouth of the cave at Chillianwalla, a traitor broke open the back-wall at Guzerat and the lion was surprised and captured. Soon the cave of the lion became his cage! Ranjit's Queen, Chand Kuvar, dies rotting in London! And the lion's cub, Dhulip Singh, ate the

beggar's bread at the hands of the Feringhi enemy! After the annexation of the Panjab, Lord Dalhousie wrote in his despatch, the proud sentence that the extent of the British Empire was now continuous from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. But now that the British frontiers had been pushed to the Himalayas on the north and to the seas on the south, it was inevitable that he should have an ambition to create an eastern and a western frontier suitable to these northern and southern ones. Then why delay? Send a 'peace' mission to Burma and the work is done. This peace mission so tightly embraced the peace of Burma that its ribs were broken and it expired! This very loving task was soon over and Burma was also annexed. Now at last, the whole of Hindusthan-from the Himalayas to Rameshwar and from the Sindhu to the Iravady became red-but, oh! Dalhousie, do you not fear that it will soon be redder still?

Do we realise what is meant by the annexation of the Panjab and Burma? We cannot form an idea of it from mere names. The Panjab alone is a territory of 50,000 sq. miles and a population of four millions! It is the land watered by five sacred rivers of the Vedas, on the banks of which the Rishis in ancient times had recited sacred mantras! To conquer such a region Alexander came from Greece, to defend such a region King Porus fought. After taking such a country, the ambition even of Ravana would have been satisfied; but the land-hunger of Dalhousie was not satisfied even after swallowing not only the Panjab but also the extensive dominion of Burma. Though the frontiers of India were extended, there still remained the graves of ancient kingdoms within. Dalhousie therefore began to root these out and level everything. Not only did they occupy too much valuable space, but there was the fear that from these graves might one day rise the future avengers of India's wrongs.

In the grave at Satara was buried a magnificent Hindu Empire. And it is no wonder that Dalhousie, who was a believer in the Resurrection of Jesus was afraid that out of Satara might rise a future Hindu Emperor who would confound the foreigner and establish Swaraj. In April 1848, Appa Sahib, the Maharaja of Satara, died. At this news, Dalhousie decided to annex that State. And what was the reason? The king had no direct heirs! Even the

cottage of the village labourer who has no direct heir is not confiscated but is given to his adopted son or to his near relatives. And Satara was not a peasant's cottage but an 'ally' of the English Government. In the year 1839, Pratap Singh Chhatrapati had been charged with having engaged in a conspiracy with the object of overthrowing the British Government, was dethroned, and in his place Chhatrapati Appa Sahib was appointed by the English Sirkar to succeed him. Mr. Arnold, in his book Dalhousie's Administration, says " It is not pleasant to Highness the Maharaja Chhatrapati (the Raja of Satara); His Highness the Maharaja Chhatrapati and His Highness's sons and heirs and successors are perpetually, that is from generation to generation, to reign in sovereignty over the said territory." dwell, on the circumstances of the dethronement-so discreditable they were." After such shamelessly discreditable dethronement, the English established on the Gadi of Satara the brother, on account of the failure of legitimate sons. By this, the English practically acknowledged the right of other relations-as is the invariable law laid down by the Hindu Shastras-to succeed to the throne. The only truth about this whole affair is that Dalhousie, with the habitual treachery of his nation, overrode this open acknowledgement knowingly and deliberately, because it was profitable to do so.

No one could under any pretext say that the English in any of the various treaties concluded with the various Rajas, had refused to acknowledge the right of adopted children to succeed to their adoptive parents' thrones. In 1825, the Company, while acknowledging the right of the adopted child of the Raja of Kota to succeed, openly declared: "The Prince of Kota must be considered to possess the right, in common with all other Hindus, of adopting a son and successor in conformity with the rules of the Shastras."

Again, in 1837, when the Raja of Oorcha adopted a successor, the English acknowledged him and promised: "Hindu sovereigns have a right to adopt, to the exclusion of collateral heirs, and the British Government is bound to acknowledge the adoption, provided it is regular and not in violation of the Hindu law." It may be safely asserted that nowhere else but in English politics could be found the audacity of denying the very existence of those promises which were given most definitely and which are

contained in their own documents. Not only by these declarations but on innumerable other occasions, the English have acknowledged the right of the native princes to adopt in accordance with the Hindu Shastras. Suffice it to say that, within the short period of two years (1846-47), the English Government had consented to the succession to the Gadi of innumerable adopted sons, and acknowledged their rights.

Indeed, to try to seek, in the language of promises and treaties, the root cause of annexing these states, is to work in a wrong direction altogether. The real truth of the matter is that Dalhousie had come to reduce all India to a dead level and the grave of the Hindu Empire at Sarata was trying to raise its head. Obviously, therefore, though Pratap Singh and Appa Sahib had both adopted in accordance with the Hindu Shastras, the English annexed the Raj under the pretext of failure to legitimate heirs. The Gadi of Satara! The same Gadi on which Shivaji was crowned by the hand of Gaga Bhatt! The same Gadi to which Baji Rao I. dedicated all his triumph, before which he bowed low! O Maharashtra! behold that same Gadi, on which Shivaji sat, and to which homage was paid by Santaji, Dhanaji, Niraji, and Baji, has been broken to pieces by Dalhousie! Go on, if you will, with your petitions ad deputations. What if Dalhousie does not listen to these?

In England at least, you think, the Directors will listen to you? Dalhousie is apparently a mere man; but, who knows, perhaps the Directors in England might be more than men. None in Maharashtra has seen these same Gods. It was, therefore, thought proper that Rango Bapuji, an excellent and loyal man, should go to England to lay the grievances of Satara before the 'Home' authorities. Success or no success, the game was at least, they thought, worth trying.

But how long would they wait, hoping against hope, for the success of their mission? For how long would Rango Bapuji go on wearing away the very pavement of Leadenhall Street? Yes, Rango Bapuji will go on clinging to his impossible hope till he is mocked at and insulted, till every penny is spent in feeing English barristers with crores of Rupees so that he has not money left even for his passage, and until he receives the insolent reply that they refuse to give back Satara!

While Rango Bapuji was busy packing for London, Balhousie's attention was being absorbed by a new affair; for, an occasion had risen by which he could weed out the miserable shrunken shrub of the Raj of Nagpur. Raghoji Bhonsle, the rightful owner of the Nagpur Gadi, died suddenly at the age of 47. The Raja of Berar was an ally of the Engliosh Government, and this very friendship of the English was the cause of his destruction! Those who knew that the English hated them were spared but all those who foolishly believed that the English were their friends were mercilessly and treacherously involved in ruin. The kingdom of the Berars was not the Englishman's jahgir, nor was it a feudatory state dependent for its existence on his sweet will and pleasure. It was an independent state on an equality with the Feringhi Sirkar. J.Sylvian has defied the British Government to show on what grounds and by what show of justice, either eastern or western, they could have the right of annexing such a Raj, merely because the king died childless.

Obviously it was a game of legerdemain or sleight-of-hand; one removes and the other, his accomplice, conceals it quietly! While the opne cuts off the head, the other, his accomplice, goes on asking loudly by what law he dared commit the deed-as if murderers and highway robbers need the law to b back them up. In 1853, then Dalhousie at last laid his murderous knife at the throat of 'his friend', showing as a reason that the Raja had not adopted a successor. Raja Raghoji had every hope of a child but died suddenly.

Even if he died without a child, the right of adopting passed at his death to his legal wife. If the English had not acknowledged at any time previously the heirs adopted by the queens of deceased Rajas, we should have had nothing to say. But it remains a fact that the English had acknowledged the adoption of Daulatrao Scindia's widow in 1826, the adoption by Junkoji Scindia's widow in 1836, the adoption by the widow of the Raja of Dhar in 1834, and the adoption by the queen of Kishengarh in 1841. Not one, not two, but many such adoptions have the English acknowledged.

But we should not forget the fact that, on these occasions, it was to their advantage to acknowledge these heirs. In this case, on the other hand, it was not to their advantage to acknowledge the adoption by the widow of Raghoji. The real point at issue, then was one of advantage to the English Government, and everything was determined on that issue. While the Raj of Nagpur was annexed because no adoption took place, the Satara kingsom faced a similar fate because the adopted heir should have a right to succeed to the throne! Impossible for logic to step in here.

By annexing Nagpur, Dalhousie robbed an extensive tract of 76,832 sq.miles, with a population of 4,650,000 people and an enormous annual income. While the poor Ranees were weeping themselves hoarse, a loud knock came on the palace gate. The door was opened and in rushed the English troops. Horses were let loose from the stables, elephants- after forcibly pulling down the Ranees riding on them-were taken to the bazaars for sale, and silver and gold ornaments were removed from the palace and were sold by public auction in every street. The necklace that adorned a queen was lying in the dust of the bazaars. Elephants were sold for 100 Rupees! After this you will hardly be surprised to lean that horses, fed on richer food than Dalhousie had for his own dinners, were sold for 20 Rupees and that a pair of horses, on which the Raja himself used to ride, was sold for 5 Rupees! Elephants with the howdas on them and horses with caparisons were sold, but the Ranees still remained with their jewels. Why not sell the jewels?

So, the jewels also went the way of other things, and no Ranee had a single jewel left on her person. But even here the "friendship" of the English could not stop. So, they began to dig the floor of the place! And, Heavens, in the very bedroom of the Ranees the Feringhi pickaxe began its desecrating work! Reader, start not yet, not tremble, for the pickaxe has only started the work, and will do further deeds, nay, is doing it.

For, see you not it has broken the bedstead of the Queen, and is digging the very flooring underneath the bed? And shall we say it? All the while the Maharanee Anna Poorna Bai was on her death-bed, and was even then dying! While the Dowager Queen of the great family of the Bhonsles of Nagpur was on her deathbed, groaning with agony and for the insult to the throne and the family, in the neighbouring room, in that bed of the Queen, the Feringhi's pickaxe was doing its work! What a terrible

accompaniment to the groans in the next room! And why all this? Because Raghoji died before adopting a successor!

Ranee Anna Poorna Bai died, groaning for the insufferable insults flung at her ancient dynasty. But the hope of Ranee Banka to get justice from England was not yet dead! This vain hope was at last destroyed, but not until she had tried the immensely expensive remedy of feeing English barristers with lakhs of Rupees. Ands what did Ranee Banka do then? She spent the rest of her life in "loyalty" to the Feringhi! While the Lightning was working destruction at Jhansi, Banka, seeing that her sons were ready to unsheath their swords of Swaraj, threatened them that, if they did unsheath their swords, she would herself inform the Feringhis of their designs and advise the Feringhis to behead them!

Nana Sahib and Laxmi Bai

Blow your trumpets loudly now, O Heralds of History, for soon there are to arrive on the scene two great heroes! These are two bright pearls in the necklace of Mother India. Now, then dark night has overspread the horizon of the whole country, these two alone are shining as luminous stars. They are fiery Akalis ready to avenge their country's unjust wrong with the last drop of their blood. They are two martyrs sacrificing their lives for Country, Religion, and Freedom.

They are two witnesses, sword in hand, to prove that the blood of Hindusthan that gave birth to Shivaji is not yet dead. They are two noble souls that could entertain in their hearts the grant and holy ambition of Swaraj. They are two crusaders in the Holy War, glorious even in their defeat. Therefore, O readers, stand up in all awe and reverence, for the noble figures of Nana Sahib Peshwa and the Queen of Jhansi are coming on the stage of History!

We do not know which to describe more-the splendour of the mountain tops of Matheran in the holy Maharashtra, or the green, velvet-soft, grassy meadows adorning the feet of those hiolls. In the lap of the graceful plateau below, almost overhung by the sky-reaching peaks of the Matheran, there nestled a tiny little village called Venu, heightening the beauty of the already beautiful region. Among the old and respectable families of Venu, the family of

Madhavrao Narayan Bhatt was the most prominent. Madhavrao and his noble wife Gangabai, though living in circumstances of domestic poverty, were happy in the enjoyment of mutual love. In the small house of this good family, all factrs beamed with joy and happiness in 1824, for the good Gangabai had given birth to a son. That son of Madhavrao and Gangabai was no other than the Peshwa Nana Sahib, at the very sound of whose name the Feringhi shudders with fear,-that same Nana who has made his name immortal in history as a hero who fought for liberty and for his country.

About the same time, the last Bajirao had abdicated his throne and was leading a life of retirement on the banks of Ganges. Many Maratha families had followed him and, hearing that Bajirao was generous enough to support them in good state on his pension, many new families also emigrated thither. Among the latter was the family of Madhavrao, who went to Brahmavarta in 1827 to seek the generosity of Bajirao.

There, the little son of Madhavrao captivated the heart of Bajirao, and little Nana Sahib became a great favourite of the whole Durbar. His spirit even in childhood, his serious mien and his intelligence made a deep impression upon Bajirao, who eventually resolved to adopt him. On the 7th of June, 1827, Bajirao formally placed him on his lap and adopted him. At this time Nana was only two-and-a-half years old. In this manner, the child born in the village of Venu became, by a stroke of luck, the heir presumptive to the throne of the Peshwas!

It was no doubt a great good fortune to be made heir to the seat of the Peshwas of the Mahratta Empire. But, O brilliant Prince, do you realise the great responsibility accompanying this good fortune? The throne of the Peshwas is not an ordinary thing! It was on this that the great Baji sat and ruled an Empire. It was for this that the battle of Paniput was fought. On this have been poured the sacred waters of the Sindhu for the anointing of generations of Peshwas; on this the treaty of Wargaon had been made and, most important of all, on this is to come, or any, already has come, the contaminating touch of slavery. Do you realise all this? To be the heir to a throne is to undertake, to guarantee, the protection and dignity of that throne.

Then will you or will your not guard the dignity of the Peshwa throne? Either the Gadi should be adorned with the crown of victory, or it should be burnt in a brilliant pyre of glory, like the proud women of Chitore! There is no third way of saving the glory of the Peshwa's throne! O brilliant Prince! Think of this terrible responsibility, and then site on the Gadi of the Peshwas! Since your father gave reason for the taunt that the Peshwa's Gadi surrendered, the whole of Maharashtra has became black with shame, and all desire that if the Gadi is to enter after all, it should end even as it began-that if it is to die, it should die fighting! Sit proudly on that Gadi, O young Nana, so that History may say with pride that the Gadi, whose first Peshwa was Balaji Vishvanath, had for its last occupant Nana Sahib!

At about the same time in sacred Varanasi, there lives in the retinue of Chimnaji Appa Peshwa, Moropant Tambe and his wife Bhagirathi Bai. Little did the couple know at the time that their name would become immortal in History! This couple, which had the good fortune of giving birth to a daughter who was to be a veritable flashing sword in the hands of Hindusthan, this couple hardly understood its good fortune. Do the thorny branches know that, in the spring, a rose, delighting all with its fragrance, would spring forth from out of them! But though the branches knew it now, still, as soon as the spring time of Hindusthan came, the flower did come forth! It was in 1835 that Bhagirathi gave birth to the heroine, Ranee Lakshmi Bai. This brave woman's name in youth was Manu Bai.

When Manu was hardly three or four years old, the whole family left Benares and went to the court of Bajirao at Brahmavarta. There she was so much liked by all the people that they called here "Chabeli". Prince Nana Sahib and the sweet Chabeli! When two such children braced each other in childish affection, what a sight must it have been to the people of Brahmavarta! What eyes would not glisten with joy to see Prince Nana Sahib and the Chabeli playing together in the armoury and learning their lessons in sword-play-lessons which they were destined to use in later life for the defence of their country and their religion? How limited, indeed, is the vision of man! When Nana Sahib and Lakshmi Bai were learning sword-play together, the spectators did not see the future glory of these brilliant children, and now those who do see their glory, have no longer the good fortune to see those children's games of the past! Still, if, to remove the short-sightedness of these eyes of flesh, we put on the spectacles of imagination, then we can easily see those games of the past. While Nana Sahib and Rao Sahib (his cousin) were learning their lessons under their tutor, this Chabeli too would closely watch them, and thus she learned to read, though stumbling often. Nana Sahib would be sitting in howdah on an elephant and the sweet child would affectionately call up to him, "Won't you take me too ?" Sometimes Nana would lift her up, and both would learn to ride the magnificent animal. Sometimes Nana would be on a horse and wait for Lakshmi to come and join him ; just then she would come up galloping with a sword at her side, with her hair slightly dishevelled by the wind, and her hair complexion becoming ruddier by her efforts to curb the spirited horse. And both would start away at a smart pace.

As this time, Nana was eighteen years old and Lakshmi Bai was seven; what a pleasant memory to us that the heroine should have started her training for the holy was at the age of seven? These two jewels were extremely fond of each other from their earliest childhood. In Brahmavarta, at that time, were being brought up three of the most important characters of the Revolutionary War of 1857, Nana Sahib, Queen Lakshmi Bai, and Tatya Tope. It is said, that on every festival of Yamadvitiya, these two, Nana Sahib and Lakshmi Bai-historical brother and sister- used to perform the ceremony of Bhaubij. We can well picture to ourselves the sweet attractive spirited Chabeli, with a golde dish and with lamps in her hand, performing the ceremony. Such occasions when a Lakshmi Bai is waving the sacred lamp round the face of a Nana Sahib, such occasions make history more romantic than romance!

In the early life of Nana Sahib and Manu Bai, we have the key to their future greatness. Their flesh and blood, even in early childhood, had been permeated by the love of Swaraj and a noble sense of self-respect and pride of ancestry. In 1842, the Chabeli was given In marriage to Maharaja Gangadhar Rao Baba Sahib of Jhansi, and thus became Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi. She was extremely popular at the Court of that place and gained the

affection and devoted loyalty of all her subjects, as the later part of this history will show.

In 1851, the Peshwa Bajirao II died. Let not a single tear be shed for his death! For, after losing his own kingdom in 1818, this blot in the escutcheon of the Peshwas spent his time in helping to ruin the kingdoms of other kings! He saved considerably on the pension of eight lakhs of Rupees allowed to him by the Company's Government, and invested it in the notes of the Company. Later when the English went to war with Afghanistan, he helped them with a loan of fifty lakhs out of his savings. Soon after, the English went to war with the Sikh nation of the Panjab. And all were in hopes, and the English in fears, that the Mahratta at Brahmavarta would make common cause with the Sikh Misals against the English power.

When almost the whole of India was fighting against Aurangzeb, Shri Guru Govind Singh, after a defeat in the Panjab, had come into the Maharashtra, it is said, to enter into an active alliance with the Mahrattas. Now it seemed that the Mahrattas would go into Northern India on a similar mission, and perform the unfulfilled promises of the alliance. But Baji spoiled the sport at the eleventh hour. This Baji-this Peshwa of Shivaji and his descendants-spent money out of his own pocket and sent one thousand infantry and one thousand cavalry to the assistance of the English! This Bajirao had not troops enough to help the enemy to desecrate the house of Guru Govind Singh! O unfortunate nation! The Mahrattas should take the kingdom of the Sikhs and the Sikhs should take the kingdom of the Mahrattas-and all this for what? In order that the English might dance in joy over the corpses of both. We have rather to thank the God of Death that such a traitor-this Baji-died before 1857.

Before his death, Baji Rao made a will by which he bequeathed all the rights of succession and powers of the Peshwa to his adopted son Nana Sahib. But immediately on the news of Baji Rao's death, the English Government announced that Nana Sahib had no right whatsoever to the pension of eight lakhs. What must have Nana Sahib thought on hearing this decision of the English? The conflict of passions in his heart is portrayed to some extent in the despatch written under his direction. It says: "It is simply unjust that the high family of thePeshwa should be treated by the Company so lightly as this. When our throne and kingdom were handed over to the Company by Shrimant Bajirao, it was done so on the condition that the Company should pay eight lakhs of Rupees every year, as its price. If this pension is not to last for ever, how can the surrender of the kingdom, which was given as a consideration for this pension, last for ever in your hands? That one party alone should be bound by the contract, while the other itentionally fails to do its part is absurd, unjust, and inconsistent." Then follows a clear and well reasoned passage refuting the theory that he, being an adopted son, cannot get his father's rights, citing authorities from Hindu Shastras, from rules of politics and customary law.

After that, the despatch of Nana Sahib continues: "The Company puts forward another excuse to cease to pay the pension, namely that Bajirao II has saved a considerable sum which is quite sufficient to defray the expenses of his family. But the Company forgets that the pension was given as a condition of the treaty, and there is no single clause in the treaty directing the mode in which the pension should be spent.

The pension is the price of the kingdom given, and Bajirao would have been justified had he saved even the whole of the pension! We ask the Company whether they have got the least right to question the manner in which the pension is expended? Nay, can the Company ask even its own servants as to how they spend their pensions or what they save out of it? But it is strange that a question, which the Company dare not ask even of its own servants, is raised in the case of the heir to a royal dynasty, and is made the pretence to break a treaty." With this argumentative and spirited despatch, Nana's faithful ambassador, Azimullah Khan, left for England.

Of the important characters in the Revolutionary War of 1857, the name of Azimullah Khan is one of the most memorable. Among the keen intellects and minds that first conceived the idea of the War of Independence, Azimullah must be given a prominent place. And among the many plans by which the various phases of the Revolution were developed, the plans of Azimullah deserve special notice.

Azimullah was very poor by birth. He rose gradually on the strength of his own merits, and at last became the trusted adviser of Nana Sahib. His early poverty was such that he served as a waiter in the household of an Englishman. Even while in such a low state, the fire of ambition was always burning in his heart. He took advantage of his profession as a Baberchi in order to learn foreign languages, and in a short time he had learned to speak English and French with fluency. After acquiring a knowledge of both these languages, Azimullah left the service of the Feringhis and began to study in a school at Cawnpore. By his extraordinary ability, he soon became a teacher at the self-same school. While still serving as a teacher in the Government school at Cawnpore, his reputation as an able scholar reached the ears of Nana Sahib, and he was introduced at the Brahmavarta Durbar.

Once, at the Durbar, his wise counsels were appreciated and valued by Nana Sahib, who would take no important step without first consulting Azimullah. In 1854, he was made the chief representative of Nana Sahib and sent to England. His face was noble, his speech sweet and silvery. Knowing very well the customs and manners of contemporary English life, he soon became very popular among Londoners. Attracted by his pleasant and silvery voice, his spirited mien and Oriental magnificence, several young English women well in love with Azimullah. There used to be a crowd, in those days, in the parks of London and on the beach at Brighton, to see this jewelled Indian "Raja". Some English women of respectable families were so much infatuated with him that, even after his return to India, they would send him letters couched in the most affectionate terms. When, later, Havelock's army captured Brahmavarta, he saw there the original letters written by some English ladies to their "Darling Azimullah !"

But though English women were captivated by Azimullah, still the East India Company would not leave their stern attitude. They put him off for some time with beguiling words, and at last gave the stereotyped answer, "We entirely approve of the decision of the Governor-General that the adopted so of Bajirao has no claim whatsoever to his father's pension." Thus, as regards the principal object of his mission he was disappointed, in a way. We say "in a way"; because at this very moment, a new inspiration,

a new hope, was rising in his heart. There was no necessity of any foreigner's consent to realise this hope, but it depended for its realisation on his own country and countrymen! How to get the consent of his own men? How to acquire the independence of his country by force when it could not be acquired by Sama, Dana, or Bheda (conciliation, money, or division)? These thoughts breathed a new hope and a new life into Azimullah's heart.

At this self-same moment, right in the heart of London, a Brahmin was sitting, brooding over the means for attainment of that which he was unable to obtain by petition or by prayer and his heart, filled with vengeance born of despair, was planning dozens of schemes for the attainment of his object. This was Rango Bapuji of Satara. Azimullah, the representative of the Peshwa, used often to visit him, and they both used to hold secret consultations. Leaving these two- one, the representative of the Chhatrapati of Satara himself, and the other, the representative of the Prime Minister of the Chhatrapati-to the quiet and secret revolution of the problem of saving the Hindu Empire, let us turn our attention to the activities of Nana Sahib.

Fortunate will be the day when a complete and systematic history of the life of Shrimant Nana Sahib Peshwa will be before the world. Meanwhile, until such a day arrives, it would not be out of place to recount in brief some of the details of his life about this period, as published by the English historians, bitter enemies of Nana Sahib as they are. We have already related incidentally the story of his youth. He had married a cousin of the chief of Sangli. While in the north, in 1857, the Revolution was being resolved upon, this relation of Nana Sahib was making strenuous efforts to achieve the same end in Maharashtra by working in the Poatwardhan State.

Nana had made Brahmavarta his home after the demise of his father. This city was in itself very beautiful, while the sacred Bhagirathi which flowed close to the city walls greatly added to its beauty. The palace of Nana commanded a most charming view; before him stretched the quite waters of the Bhagirathi; the banks were cheerfully alive with throngs of men and women; and beautiful temples of fames architecture raised their cupolas all along the banks.

The Palace of the Peshwa was a grant structure. Its political, administrative, and other offices, and the large shops and well-kept roads inside the gates, amply testified to the activities within the palace. The many extensive halls within this palace were decorated with rich carpets and gorgeous tapestries. Most valuable china selected with faultless taste, magnificent candelabra studded with diamonds, beautifully carved mirrors, carved ivory of finest workmanship, gold art works richly set with diamonds, in short, all the luxury and taste and splendour of the Hindu palace were to be seen there. The steeds and camels of Shrimant Nana Saheb were caparisoned in silver. Nana's fondness for horses was well known, and it is said that none could excel either him or Lakshmi Bai in horsemanship. His stables were a fine collection of splendid breeds. His special hobby was animals, and people even from far-off parts used to come to Brahmavarta, to see his deer and his gazelles brought from various parts of India, his camels, and his pointers. Yet, be it noted that, above all things, it was on his splendid collection of arms that Shrimant prided himself most. It included arms of all kinds and for all purposes,- swords of best-tempered steel, modern long-range rifles, and big guns of various sizes.

Immensely proud of his high birth and conscious of his noble ancestry, Nana had quietly made up his mind that he would either live as became that noble parentage, or pass away from memory altogether. It is a significant fact, that in the main hall and in a prominent place were hund the portraits of those great and capable men who had adorned Mahratta history. What did those faces speak to him? What did the portrait of Chhatrapati Shivaji say to him? What a tumult of feelings must have arisen in his mind when he saw Baji Rao I, the Bhao of Panipat, the youthful and regal Viswas, the wise Madhava, and statesman Nana Farnavis, in the portraits before him! The very consciousness that he was born in a family which would boast of such great names, must have been constantly impelling him to, what thoughts? Nana, there is no doubt, must have felt, and felt terribly, the woeful humiliation of petitioning to his enemies for a pension for that Empire, of which his ancestors were the Prime Ministers, nay, rulers.

The stories of the noble deeds of the great Shivaji, whose memory he fondly cherished, must, without doubt, have set ablaze in his heart the flames of anger and vengeance. A Sanskrit proverb says, "The honourable prefer death to dishonour," and Nana was above all honourable. Generous as a prince, pride was his greatest wealth-as it always is of the brave. Hence he could not bear the idea of accepting any invitation from the European officers about him. For was he not, as the Peshwa, entitled to the salute of gunds, which the Company was not willing to fire in his honour? He was serious constitutionally and his habits were simple. He had not a trace of extravagant habits or vices. An Englishman who had observed him closely on many occasions says that, at the time he saw him, he was really about twenty-eight years of age, but he looked forty. "He was inclined to embonapoint; his face was round; his eyes, restless like those of a tiger, were piercing and of great lustre; his complexion was like that of any Spaniard; his conversation was characterised by a touch of humour." In the Durbar, he was dressed in kinkhabs. Englishmen used to admire the jewellery he displayed about his person and his crowns studded with diamonds. His generous and sympathetic heart, had effectually won the love of his subjects. His kindness to his subjects would be quite natural, but it is significant that Shrimant was habitually generous even towards those very English people, who, turning ungrateful, had deprived him of his all. If any youthful English couple wanted change of air, the rich equipage of Maharaja Nana

Sahib was ready at their service. Many a "Sahib", tired of living in Cawnpore, used to pay a visit with his "memsahib" to the town of Maharaja Nana Sahib, and presents to rich shawls and valuable pearls and diamonds were made to them on the occasion of their leaving Brahmavarta. It may be seen clearly from this that the poison of individual hatred never touched the noble soul of Nana. The elevated and heroic ideal, of generously treating those very enemies with social courtesy and obligation, whom, on the battlefield, you would remorselessly destroy, has again and again been celebrated in the epics and histories of Hindusthan. The Rajput heroes used to treat their bitterest enemies with splendid generosity. Be it noted, therefore, in this connection, that there

was considerable cordiality between Nana and the English at this time. As long as they could feast at the palace of the Shrimant, the English officers and their wives were heaping friendly praise upon him, but as soon as he lifted the Sword of righteousness in the cause of Swaraj and Swadesh on the battlefield of Cawnpore, what ignominy and what low abuse they heaped on him!

Shrimant was well educated, and had the refinement of culture. He took great interest in politics and political affairs. He used to watch and closely study the ever-changing affairs of great nations, and for that purpose would closely follow the English press. He used to have the daily papers read to him every morning by Mr.Tod, an Englishman afterwards massacred at Cawnpore. He thus was able to observe, with his lynx-eye, all the political changes in England and in India. When heated discussions were taking place over the question of annexing Oudh, Nana was of opinion that that act would inevitably force on a war.

As this description is compiled from the histories written by Nana's enemies, it is to be noted that those virtues which his enemies ascribe to him must have been a distinct feature in his character. For it cannot be expected that English historians, with their terrible hatred for Nana, could acknowledge willingly his eminent virtues except where absolutely necessary.

The tardy acknowledgment of such virtues is the more significant, as after this slight confession of truth, these very historians have wreaked to the full their devilish vengeance on Nana for having leaped forth into the battlefield. The poisonous pen of English historians has taken a fiendish delight in calling him a "badmash", a "high way robber", a "fiend", and "Satan", and has been heaping upon him low, vulgar, and dishonest abuse. But even if all this abuse was deserved, still the single fact, that Nana fought for Swarajya and bled for Swadesh, is sufficient to establish his loving memory in the heart of us Indians. It was essentially necessary that the whole world should realise the fact that a grant and terrible vengeance is visited sooner or later on those who dare to commit the sin of depriving Hindusthan of Independence. Nana was the incarnation of vengeance of the land of Hind! Nana was the Narasimha Mantra of this land! Yes; this one fact will impress Nana's memory on the tablet of our hearts!

Yet with this particular merit of Nana, when one further remembers the individual instances of his generosity, his pride of birth, and above all his noble and patriotifc heart, one's head bows in loving adoration of that grant personality; and then rises before one's mind's eye the fair and noble form of Nana, with his huge strength, crown on his head, his bright and alert eyes red with injured pride, the sword (worth three lakhs of Rupees) by his side keen and ready to leap forth from the scabbard, and his body all aflame with anger and keen desire to avenge the Swarajya and the Swadesh!

Ye, conflicting emotions, stop! What a terrible tumult is happening there! The insolent message, the last, has come to Nana from the English, that he has not a vestige of claim to the pension of Baji Rao; nay, that he must even give up the proprietary rights to Brahmavarta; and this, the Company further claimed, was justice! Justice?

Now the English need not take the trouble of giving a definite reply whether it was justice or injustice! Extensive preparations are in progress and there, on the field of Cawnpore, will be determined the issue of the question. It is there that the question, whether it is justice or injustice to injure the heart of a Mahratta, will be fully discussed. Decapitated, headless trunks, mutilated bodies, flowing streams of blood-these will determine the issue. Aye, and the vultures sitting on the parapets of the well of Cawnpore will listen to this discussion and give a definite answer to the issue raised, Justice or Injustice?

While splendid preparations were being made for this extraordinary ceremony at Nana's palace, his Chhabeli sister was not sitting idle. Before her had come the same question-Justice or Injustice? When she adopted her darling Damodar as her son, soon after the sudden death of her husband in 1853, the English annexed Jhansi, refusing to recognise the rights of adoption. But Jhansi was not a state which could be annexed by mere word or letter.

Not the Banka of Nagpur, but the dear sister Chhabeli of Nana-Ranee Lakshmi Bai was ruling there! As if she cared a whit for this "annexation"! From her proud heart, seeing this low and heartless cunning of the English, pealed forth the thunders born

of injured pride and a sense of honour, and through these the lightning of Jhansi declared, "Give up my Jhansi?-I will not! Let him try to take who dares !!" "Meri Jhansi doongi nahin !!"

Ayodhya

We have no hesitation in saying that Lord Dalhousie is one of those Indian administrators who are accused of more sing of administration than they are really guilty of. Officers like Dalhousie are nothing more than mouthpieces of tyrany. They merely execute the commands of the 'Home' authorities. To refer all responsibility for tyrannous misdeeds committed in India to such mouth-pieces would be as unjust as it is irrational. Dalhousie was purely a creature of the circumstances in which he was placed. The major portion of the responsibility, for good as well as for evil, therefore, rests on those who created the situation. As long as the general policy is dictated from 'Home', those whose duty is merely to execute it can act no more honestly than Dalhousie did. It would certainly be unjust to hold Dalhousie responnsible for all those combined acts and deeds which had to flow directly from the situation created for him by his masters in England and his assistants in India. Dalhousie merely reaped that harvest of political robbery the seeds of which had been sedulously sown for a hundred years by his predecessors. The intrigues born of political avarice had been sown long before and Dalhousie's regime was the season in which they bore fruit. But for this heritage of iniquitous power behind him, how many kingdoms could Dalhousie have annexed? It was chiefly because generations of his predecessors had prepared the way for him by slowly undermining the foundations of the different kingdoms of India that Dalhousie was enabled, by the mere stroke of his pen, to annex so many of them.

It was in 1764 that the relations between the Company and the ruler of Outh were first established. Since then, the servants of the Company had been steadily trying to usurp the fertile land of Ayodhya. Having first compelled the Nabob of Oudh to keep English regiments in his pay for 'protecting' him, they obtained from him in return Rs. 16 lakhs (160,000) per annum as the pay for these regiments. By such forced protection and voluntary compulsion, the treasury of the Nabob was rapidly emptied; and then the English suggested to the Nabob (it was a veiled command) that a replacing of all the native army of the Nabob by English regiments would be a valuable step towards the effectual 'protection' of the principality. A treasury which could not afford to pay even the pay of the "subsidised troops" could certainly not pay the salaries of the "additional" troops forced on the Nabob, and the English thoroughly knew this fact.

Indeed, the additional demand was made because the English knew this fact. At last it was forced (most unwillingly!) upon the notice of the Company that, if the Nabob had an empty treasury, he had at least a tract of territory and, so, with the sold object of looking after the welfare and well-being of the Nabob, the Companydeprieved him, at once and for ever, of a territory yielding a new revenue of about two crores of Rupees (2,000,000) and forced him to accept the services of this extensive army of English soldiers. This territory was the land of Rohilkhand and the Doab.

After robbing all this land from the territory of Oudh, the English signed an agreement that, as the Nabob had surrendered all and every right over this tract of land, the rest of the territory belonging to the Nabob should remain hereditarily in the family of the Nabob. Another article in the treaty provided that the Nabob should not oppress his subjects. After this treaty which was concluded in 1801, the Nabob was made to advance to the Company, whenever they wanted financial aid, crores of Rupees. The whole kingdom of Oudh was in the hands of the Compoany's army officers, the treasury became empty by forced loans and contributions, and it was impossible for the Nabob to administer his territory independently or to introduce internal reforms. But the philanthropic Company kept on urging upon him, pointing to the articles in the treary of 1801, to alter his administration so as to make his subjects happy and contended. How was it possible for the Nabob to do so? The Company thwarted all his efforts to reform the finances. Those old laws in the kingdom which esured the happiness of the people were abolished by the Company and new ones were introduced.

The subjects so much in consequence of these new laws that even the Company had to acknowledge its mistake and did do so ten years after. Thus, while on the one hand the Company unlawfully interfered in the internal administration of the kingdom,

on the other hand it insisted that the subjects of the Nabob should have no complaints. They first made him empty his treasury to satisfy their exorbitant demands; and when, to satisfy their further demands which they insisted on being satisfied at once, the Nabob taxed his subjects, down comes the Company on the Nabob's poor devoted head and charges him with maladministration, because, forsooth, the subjects complained against the new taxes. The Nabob's administration was thus paralysed, but, at the same time, if by any chance the people, with one voice, rose against the injustice and attempted to get a reform of the constitution, English bayonets and swords of the "subsidised" troops were ever ready to smother the united voice of the nation. And still, the Company persisted in requiring that.

Such is the clear and unmistakable evidence of Lord Hastings. But in spite of this, the Company threatened that, if the Nabob did not render his administration conducive to the happiness of his subjects, the Company would consider it a violationof the treaty of 1801. there should be no complaints in the kingdom! Thus, while on the one hand they rendered it more and more impossible either for the Nabob or the people to reform the administration in any way, on the other hand their strict and persistent demands for a better administration grew steadily louder and louder! "As a matter of fact, the true and effectual way for the introduction of an administration which would render the people happy would have been to call the British Resident back and to given the Nabob a free hand in the administration of his dominion. Thus, the whole guilt of the unrest in his territory rests on the head of the Company".

This treaty of 1801 was cancelled and the Nabob entered into a fresh agreement in 1837. This treaty impaired the authority of the Nabob considerably, but he signed the new agreement simply with the intention of rescuing himself from the cunning treaty of 1801. In the year 1847, Wajid Ali Shah succeeded to the throne of Oudh. This new Nabob determined from the first to destroy the poisonous white worm which was killing the life out of the state, and with that object began reforms in the army which was the life of the kingdom. This youthful prince introduced strict regulations as to the discipline of the Sepoys and even personally

supervised their drill. All the regiments had to undergo the drill every morning before the Nabob, who used to dress in the uniform of the commander-in-shift of the troops. He issued strict orders that every regiment that was late in presenting itself on the parade ground should be liable to a fine of Rs.2000 (200) and he, at the same time, bound himself to pay the same amount as fine if he himself failed in this duty.

The Company, of course, could not bear to see the Nabob develop his strength. The British Resident, therefore in a short time forced the Nabob to give up these military activities and at the same time suggested that, if he so desired to increase the strength of the army, the Company was quite willing to increase the "subsidiary" force; the only condition they would impose being that the Nabob should, every year, pay a further additional sum towards its expenses and upkeep. The hotblooded Nabob was quite indignant. But he was forced to give up his darling scheme of military reform and was reduced to complete inactivity. Yet, the benevolent East India Company went on arguing that the Nabob should render his administration happy to his subjects.

But now, the Nabob need to even think as to how to render his rule happy. For Lord Dalhousie has arrived in India with the express and benevolent object of taking upon himself (as representative of the E.I.Coy.) all the responsibility for the good administration of all the independent states of India. With his keen political insight, Lord Dalhousie soon realised that the treaty of 1837 was, as a matter of fact, a great blunder. For in the annulment of the old treaty was lost a very strong and a very hypercritical reason for the annexation of the idependent principality of Oudh. The article in the treaty of 1801, demanding that the Nabob should rule for the happiness of his subjects, was an incontrovertible argument for annexing Oudh at the sweet will of the Company. How could this mistake of 1837 be repaired? Why, by simply denying the fact that the treaty was ever entered into. Without any indirect methods, the Nabob was informed that no such treaty as the one of 1837 was ever entered into. A short time after the treaty of 1837, the English, as it would appear, remembered the treaty perfectly well. Indeed in 1847, Loard Hartington had publicly and unmistakably acknowledged this

treaty. Col.Sleeman in 1851 had further testified to the treaty. Nay, in that very year 1853, not only was mention made of this treaty, but it was actually appended to the list of the existing treaties in the Company's records for that year! So the English denied, aye, altogether, that there was ever any such treaty: the very existence of a treaty which they had acknowledged just a minute before was denied by them even before the pen which had written the acknowledgment had been laid down! And thus, Wajid Ali Shah was informed that the Company would consider it necessary to take over the administration of his kingdom if he did not introduce the happy regime!

But it must not be forgotten that all these important issues had been decided on long before Dalhousie even reached the shores of Hindusthan. All his predecessors, moved by unholy designs, had prepared the way to swallow this province, and their endeavours, characterised by low cunning, had almost succeeded. To Dalhousie was reserved the last act of consummation, the last stroke of policy and this absorbed all his attention. It would have been out of the question to "conquer" Oudh by sending an expedition into the territory as was done in the case of the Panjab or Brahmadesh (Burma), for as yet not a single man in the Oudh territory was for the English. The charge that the Nabab did not carry out the friendly intentions he professed was also out of the question, for had not the Nabob helped the English on all occasions, when help was needed? And had not the Nabob freely supplied the English with money from his pocket? Had he not supplied the English even with provisions, when they were pressed hard in many of their campaigns?

Nor could there be any excuse, as in the case of Nagpur, that the Nabob had no direct heir; the palace was full of the Nabob's legitimate children. Nor was there trouble about adoption as in the case of Jhansi, for the present king was the legitimate son of the late king and had, further, sat on the throne for years. In short the Nabob of Oudh had not committed any of the above "crimes" which cost other princes their kingdoms. But though the Nabob had thus avoided every other "crime", still the demented fool had committed one unpardonable crime! What crime could cry louder than this, that the land of Oudh was very fertile, teeming with

crops and rich in every way? Even the dry language of the Blue Book has broken forth into poetic eloquence when describing the beautiful and rich land of Oudh!

The Blue Book says: "In this beautiful land, everywhere within twenty feet, and in some placed even within ten feet, of the surface, there is a plentiful supply of water. This splendid tract is most charming, nodding with whole forests of tall and towering bamboo trees, cooled by the share of mango trees and green with rich and verdant crops. The deep shade of the tamarind, the fragrance of the orange trees, the rich hue of the fig trees, and the sweet all-pervading scent of the pollen of flowers lend an additional glory to a scene naturally beautiful!"

That no wise Englishman should hesitate to pull down a Nabob who was guilty of such an enormity as possessing such a beautiful tract of territory all for himself, Dalhousie realised but too well and so, in the year 1856, the fiat went forth that Oudh was to be annexed. And what was the reason alleged? Of course this, that the Nabob was not reforming his administration.

But, England couldst justify thy rule over India for a day, if thou acknowledgest the plea of unrest and maladministration as sufficient? There is the vice of opium-eating in China, absolute rule in Afghanisthan, why, under thy very nose Russia has reached a climax of lawlessness and tyranny; yet couldst thou dare for that reason to drag the Chinese Emperor and the Amir and the Tsar from their thrones and annex their kingdoms? How couldst though acquire the right of gagging the mouth of your neighbour and binding his hands and feet and taking possession of his house, because, forsooth, he kept his things not quite in proper order? Even the treaty of 1801 did not give the Company the right of annexing Oudh under any circumstances. And was not that very absence of good administration, at which the Company pretended so much indignation, a thing brought about by their own agency? Arnold, the biographer of Dalhousie and the historian of his regime, asserts that the Nabob of Oudh was guilty of many a crime basides that! In the first place, he used to give presents of shawls to his servants of either sex; further that he has a fireworks display on the 11th of May; why, more-one morning he urged Shah Begum and Taj Begum to a dinner! What more horrible

crime could he commit? All thanks to the English who bore patiently such gross acts on the part of the Nabob as taking medicinal drugs in the mornings, and desisted from dethroning him! But the patience of the English could endure no more! For, one day the Nawab was present when some stallions were let on the mares for breeding purposes.

It is a wonder that malicious as the English historians were, trying hard to noise far and wife the incapacity of the Nabob for good administration, by such silly, trifling accusations, they should have taken the trouble to come to Hindusthan to witness such occurrences as these. Even in their own country, throughout the various royal palaces, they could have gathered enough material of worst nature; and in that case, their time would certainly have been more profitably employed in annexing and confiscating the estates of their own princes and lords, in order to put an end to violations and outrages of a far more nefarious kind!

As soon as the British Resident received the order that the Nabob should be informed of the decision of Dalhousie-a lasting stain on his regime-the Resident went to the Nabob's palace and began to insist that the Nabob should sign a document stating that he was perfectly willing to give over his dominions to the Company. The Nabob read the document and flatly refused to sign. To make the Nabob sign this document, the Resident began attempts to bribe the Ranee and the Vizier and the threat was also given that a refusal by the Nabob to sign the document would result in even his pension being stopped. The Nabob was overwhelmed with grief at this and began even to weep. But it was of no use. Seeing at the end of three days that the refusal was still persisted in, the British army, insolently setting aside the Nabob's authority, entered Lucknow and took forcible possession of the whole Ryasat, including his palace. The Zenanas were looted, the Begums were insulted, the Nabob was hurled from the throne, palaces were turned into stables for the soldiers of the English and thus began a happy beginning of the good administration of the so-far-badly-managed Kingdom of Oudh.

Though the ruling prince of Oudh was a Mahomedan, most of the big land-owners under him were Hindus. Jahgirs and Talukdari rights had continued from father to son in the families of these Zemindars for generations. Hundreds of villages were administered under the single authority of each of these proprietors.

They possessed forts and had small armies under them to protect these Jahgirs. No wonder, then, that these Zemindars very soon incurred the displeasure of the Company. With a view to reduce all to the same level of poverty, the sordid roller of the Company's land revenue administration began to devastate the land. The Talukdars were deprived of their numerous villages wholesale, their lands were confiscated, their forts were demolished, and all over the land of Ayodhya one long wail of suffering rent the air! The Amir of yesterday became a Fakir to-day. The descendants of ancient and noble families were driven from village to village at the behest of a raw white youth of yesterday; insults were everywhere given; whole families were reduced to dust.

The English claimed that they were doing these things for the poor agriculturists and villagers. Tyrannous land-owners oppressed the Ryot; hence, these protectors of the Ryot were introducing new methods to deliver the Ryot from the cruel grip of the landowner. How many Ryots and how many villagers were deceived by these false pretensions will soon be witnessed on the battle-fields of Ayodhya. Fahtiful villagers, attached to their masters, used to visit these homeless Zemindars and Taklukdars, robbed and driven from door to door, and used to pay them faithful homage in the profuse flow of sincere tears. Thus, there was terrible suffering-right from the Nabob of Oudh to the villagers; not a place but witnesses wholesale looting, even burning, misery, oppression, and tyranny, and did not hurl terrible curses and vowed vengeance; not a homestead but looked desolate, terribly desolate! Such was the beneficient administration that was substituted in Oudh for the misgovernment of the Nabob!

The world-wide difference between Swarajya and foreign rule was, thus, brought painfully to the notice of all Oudh. All their previous history stood before them vividly. They realised full well know that even death was preferable to living in slavery. How long to look on, while the Swadesh was reduced to dust and Swarajya was no more? They hated intensely these results and

this shameful condition. At this very time, the roller of the Inam Commission was working in other provinces in order to destroy the stamina of Zemindars and Vatandars in those provinces and reduce them to the level of those classes in Oudh. Those lands and those Jahgirs which had been won by the Sanad of the Sword were being abolished wholesale, because they could not show documentary evidence of Sanads of paper. That the work of the Inam Commission was terrible may, to some extent, be realised from this single fact that nearly 35000 big Jahgirs and extensive Inams were inquired into by the Inam Commission and of these, within the space of ten years, three-fifths were usurped! By this means, all over India, property of every kind was rendered insecure. Thrones of princes, Vatans of Sardars, lands of Zemindars, Talukas of Talukdars, houses of citizens, the lands dedicated to the temples, the fields of agriculturists-all these were, in this terrible conflagration, burned to ashes. Even life was rendered insecure. No one could be sure that the few morsels of food which he was allowed to-day would be spared to him to-morrow. The contrast between Swarajya and foreign government, independence and slavery, stood naked in all its horrible aspects before the people.

Thus did the English Administrator benevolently in this extraordinary way these vast dominions of our Indian princes which had been so far badly administered!

ADDING FUEL TO FIRE

To allow the existance of a slavery under which such unjust acts of oppression (as have been mentioned in the last chapter) and hundreds of other unmentionable crimes (which have been left unmentioned, being, indeed, too numerous to mention) are committed and encouraged and to bow the head in submission to the perpetrators thereof, is not this the very destruction of Religion? What religion is there which has not condemned dependence and slavery? The ultimate goal of true religion is likeness unto the nature of the Supreme Being that moves everything, of Him who made all beings capable of becoming all-perfect. There must not be imperfection in ma if he is to be like the All-Perfect. But how can there be anything but imperfection

in a country where there is slavery? God is the essence of justice, and slavery is absence of justice. God is the essence of freedom; slavery is absence of freedom. Hence, where there is God there cannot be slavery, and where there is slavery there cannot be God or Godliness.

Where there is no place for God, there can be no religion. In short, true religion cannot exist where slavery, the nursery of injustice, is rampant. Slavery is the straight road to Hell and true religion is a means of attaining Heaven. To walk in the path leading towards Heaven, the shackles of slavery must be broken. This was the practical philosophy which Sri Samartha Ramdas gave to Shivaji and Sri Pran Nath taught Chhatrasala and this advice to win Swaraj for the sake of religion, by fighting and dying for it, began to echo in the hearts of the people trodden under slavery, in 1857, two hundred years after it was originally given.

Those, who had thrust this slavery-unnatural, born of injustice,-on Hindusthan, had already begun the destruction of religion not only in India but all over the world. For, that religion is there which has not condemned injustice? But not satisfied with the tacit insult of the religion of India from the very day he set foot on the Indian soil up to the terrible battles of 1857, the Feringhi has been making steady and unceasing attempts to trample the Hindu religion and the Moslem faith.

The head of the whole English nation was turned at the immeasurable success which had attended the attempt to Christianise the indigenous ignorant races of Africa and America, and they had strong hopes that in India too, in a few days, the Cross would be everywhere triumphant. That the English fully believed that Hindusthanis would be ashamed of their religion when they saw the light of western civilisation and give it up, that they would consider the Bible more sacred than the Vedas and the Koran, and that they would be gathered together in the fold of the Church, leaving their Temples and Musjids,-is fully and unmistakably seen from the literature of that time and from the writings and speeches of Englishmen of the first half of the last century. The chairman of the Directors of the East India Company, Mr. Mangles, said in the House of Commons, in 1857:

"Providence has entrusted the extensive empire of Hindusthan to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other. Everyone must exert all his strength that there may be no dilatoriness on any account in continuing in the country fire grand work of making all India Christian."

Macaulay, in 1936-when schools in which English education was to be given were first opened in Bengal, had expressed a hope amounting almost to a conviction that, in thirty years, there would be no idol-worshipper left I Bengal.

The mind of the Feringhi was filed with such contempt and such hatred for the Hindu and Moslem faiths-the two principal religions of India-that very prominent writers, forgetting even ordinary conventionalities, constantly heaped shameful abuse on the two religions whenever they got a change.

The constant insistence by the East Indian Company to make India Christian was due to a very obvious reason. Once the religions of India died, the national feeling of the people would also die; individuality would die and it is infinitely more easy to rule a nation whose individuality is dead than to rule one which has a clearly marked individuality. Thus, the question was one of diplomacy rather than of religion, and the reason why England did not lift the sword for the solution of the problem was also to be found in diplomacy. England had learnt many lessons from the history of Aurangzeb. Both the strength and weakness of the policy of that monarch had been carefully studied by the English. Learning the wisdom of Aurangzeb, that the destruction of the religion of a conquered race makes the problem of retaining it in perpetual slavery much easier, the English had avoided his folly of open persecution for religion. Hence the stolid and continuous efforts of the English to make India Christian by indirect means only and not openly.

Rev. Kennedy wrote at the time, "Whatever misfortunes come on us, as long as our Empire in India continues, so long as our Empire in India continues, so long let us not forget that our chief work is the propagation of Christianity in the land. Until Hindusthan, from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas, embraces the religion of Christ and until it condemns the Hindu and the Moslem religions, our efforts must continue persistently. For this work, we must make all the efforts we can and use all the power and all the authority in our hands; and continuous and unceasing efforts must be kept on until India becomes a magnificent nation, the bulwark of Christianity in the East! If, with such uninterrupted preseverance, we continue our efforts, then I do not doubt that by the grace of God, we shall be successful in the end!"

No wonder, then, that every citizen of India-seeing that English authorities and missionaries were using such language openly-began to feel that, under the English Raj, everyone would eventually be forced to be Christian. With the disappearance of Swaraj, the Rajas and Maharajas who made rich gifts of Inams and Jahgirs to Temples and Musjids, were also disappearing. In this powerless state,-instead of new inams being granted, instead of fresh gifts of money being showered on Temples and Musjids as when where was Swaraj-even those Inams and the money remaining yet in their hands were being taken away forcibly from the temples and mosques. And there is no wonder that, seeing that there was no protection for their religions, the Hindus and the Moslems alike were pained and grieved. Nor is it to be wondered at that the blood of both the Hindus and the Mahomedans boiled with rage at being openly described in official and private documents as "heathens," and peculiarly abusive epithet. And yet, there was every indication that the Feringhis, who cared more for the increase of commerce than of the Christian religion and were the devotees more of Mammon than of Christ-the Prince of Poverty, would therefore desist from attacking the religious prejudices of the people by open violence.

As if with the express purpose of proving the falsity of such an idea, the English in the insolence born of unbridled power very soon began an open and violent interference with the religions of Hindusthan. Even while efforts were being made to pass in Calcutta the law for the abolition of suttee, public opinion in India began to suspect deeper designs on the part of the Government. Even before this law for the abolition of suttee had passed through the Councils of Calcutta, the prisoners were prevented from observing their religions. A few days more saw the passing of the Widow

Remarriage Act, in the face of the loud protests of the Hindus. No sooner had this law been passed than Lord Canning expressed his opinion that the law for the abolition of polygamy was to be brought into the Legislative Council, and he exerted himself to pass it as speedily as possible through the council.

The question we have to answer here is not whether the law which the Company was going to introduce was good or bad. What we want, in this place, to say is that neither Hindus nor Mahomedans could be certain as to where the attack on their religious customs would stop, seeing that the English, in the exercise of their authority for the passing of these laws, had begun the dangerous habit of interfering by force with the religious customs of the people.

These laws may be good or bad; nor may it be necessary to attach to them the slightest importance; but this much is clear that any changes in the social habits based upon religious texts can be brought about only by the authority of those religious and through their adherents. When a foreign administration professing an alien religion, after making promises never to interfere with the religious beliefs of the people, endeavours to change by force the hereditary customs, the established religious beliefs of the people, on the strength of a majority composed of men professing the foreign religion, in the council and on the strength of despotic authority, and that, when the public opinion clearly and unmistakably expressed, of the adherents of those religions was opposed to such change, while, in the Council, the men who belonged to these religions has no authority at all,-then, indeed there was not the least difference between the tyranny of Aurangzeb and the tyranny of the Company's Raj.

To-day law regarding only suttee has been passed; who could say that, when this injustice was swallowed by the people, what other laws the Company would not pass? The English hated idolatry as much as they did suttee. To-day the law for the abolition of suttee was forced on the people against their will; who knows that, to-morrow, a law for the prevention of idol-worship would not be thrust on the people under the pretext of reform? One injustice begets another. To allow the continuance of this system of interfering with religion by means of laws made by aliens was

to follow the lifting of the sword of Aurangzeb. And when the English had begun to take up the role of Aurangzeb, there was no other remedy than that India must produce a Shivaji or a Guru Govind. And such was the usual impression all over India.

And this idea the Christian missionaries began to strengthen themselves. In their street preachings at various places, they used to say openly that India would soon be Christainised.

The Sirkar had already begun to pass one law after another to destroy the foundations of the Hindu and Mahomedan religions. Railways had already been constructed, and carriages had been built in such a way as to offend the caste prejudices of the Hindus. The larger mission schools were being helped with huge grants from the Sirkar. Lord Canning himself distributed thousands of Rupees to every mission, and from this fact it is clear that the wish was strong in the heart of Lord Canning that all India should be Christian. Why, if the would-be converts and afraid that they would lose their property by conversion, a law shall be at once be passed to prevent this!

Hardly had the missionaries exhausted their sermons and lectures, when news came that a law had been passed that all the rights and privileges of converts to the property of their unconverted relatives should remain intact even after conversion. Another fact also came to light, that huge salaries were to be paid to the bishops and even archbishops from the Indian treasury. The insistence of every Englishman, from the highest officer in the Government to the commonest missionary of the towns, had reached such a pitch that the white superior in Government offices began to insist on all the "black" clerks under him to become Christian!

While the officers were ready to lay the axe at the root of India's religions, at the expense of India's money, themselves living on the fat of India-the Government did not move at all in the matter. For, what was the Government but Lord Canning and his councillors? And, this Canning and this Council had surpassed all other officers in their holy zeal for conversion and were feeding the missionaries with lakhs of Rupees-those missionaries who defiled the people and heaped unrestrained abuse on their sacred religions.

Under such circumstances, the people were reasonably afraid that a greater danger was in store for their religion under the British Raj. The English missionaries tried to allay the terrible unrest by an attempt to christianise the sepoys, the chief strength of the people of India, believing that the disaffection of the ordinary people would be no danger to them at all.

That the low cunning of this trick was plainly understood by the people will be seen unmistakably from the proclamations of the "Multineers". That the complaints and grievances mentioned in these proclamations are literally true can be collected even from the reluctant confessions of the English historians themselves. Except in the time of actual warfare, all days were days of leisure to the Sepoys. How were these days of leisure utilised by colonels and captains and other officers in the English army? Why, in cosistantly poisoning the ears of the Sepoys with talks on Christianity! Do you think even this preaching was conducted in simple and decorous language? Not at all. Abuse, unrestrained filthy abuse, was heaped on the name of Rama Chandra, the sacred name, the mere mention of which makes the heart of every Hindu

Seeing that the Sepoys in the army were poor, ignorant, and short-sighted; feeling that when the military was christianised, the christianising of the people was once a question of time; considering the question every way, the English had come to the conclusion that the chief attack must be delivered on the Sepoy in the army. And in accordance with this opinion, from many directions, secret and open attacks on the Hindu and Moslem faiths had already begun to be delivered. Not only that, but some commanders and colonels did not hesitate even to declare publicly, through newspapers, that they had entered the army with the express purpose and object of destroying the religion of the Sepoy.

The Commander of the Bengal Infantry himself writes in the Government Report that he had been continuing uninterruptedly for 28 years the policy of christianising the military and that it was a part of military duty to save the souls of heathens from Satan! Who could dare to say that the fears of the Sepoy were unreasonable as to the impossibility of preserving their religion in the face of the attempts to undermine it, continued day and night by these

padre heroes who stumped the country with port-folios of military orders on the one hand, and the Bible in the other?

Everywhere there was a strong conviction that the Government had determined to destroy the religions of the country and make Christianity the paramount religion of the land fill with love and with devotion, and on the name of Mahomed, the very mention of whose name fills all Moslems with reverence and awe. The Koran and the Vedas were openly defiled and images were desecrated! If any Sepoy retaliated on these fiendish Feringhis and returned abuse for abuse, the poor Sepoy's roti and ghee would be taken away by the authority of the missionary colonels. Why, very soon things came to such a pass that living in the English barracks meant the sacrifice of one's religion. For, if any Sepoy accepted the Christian religion he was praised loudly and treated honourably; and this Sepoy was promoted in the ranks and his salary increased, in the face of the superior merits of the other Sepoys! A soldier renegade giving up his religion became a Hawaldar and a Hawaldar, untrue to his religion, was promoted to be a Subahdar Major!

An Englishman, to show how the hatred of the Feringhi was raging tumultuously in the hearts of both Hindus and Mahomedans, says: "A Moulvie of my acquaintance, living outwardly on terms of intimacy with me, was on his death-bed. I was with him at the time and I asked him what was his last wish before he died. He looked very disconsolate and gloomy at this question. On being asked why he looked so gloomy, he said, 'Truly, I assure you that I repent exceedingly that I did not kill even two Feringhis in my life!' On another occasion a resectable and learned Hindu said boldly, 'We wish you to be gone and our native rule to be established, that we may continue in the ways of our fathers!' "

While this tumult of disaffection was raging everywhere Dalhousie himself made a further attack on the Hindu religion. Even English historians who consider it their duty to support all the actions of the Government find it impossible to support this enormity. When the civilised Christian hero, Dalhousie, came forward to trample under foot the noble custom of adoption, one of the tenderest, most noble, loving, and sacred commandments

of the Hindu Dharma Shastras and endeared to the people of all ages all over India, all India from one end to the other was shocked. The magazine required only a lighted match to explode with violence and this act of Dalhousie supplied it.

To add fuel to this raging fire, orders were issued to the Indian sepoys that they should use the new cartridges! Soon after the promulgation of the order for using new cartridges for the new rifles, factories were opened for the manufacture of these cartridges in various places. A certain kind of fat had to be used for the greasing of these cartridges so that they might be smooth and well-lubricated, and orders soon followed that the sepoys should bite off this greasy portion with their teeth instead of tearing it away with hands as formerly. Immediately afterwards schools were even opened that the sepoys might learn how to use these rifles and also how to bite the cartridges with their teeth, and the Government reports from various quarters stated that the sepoys were immensely pleased with the long range of these new rifles.

One day, a Brahmin Sepoy belonging to the village of Dum-Dum, very near Calcutta, was going to the military barracks with his Lota full of water. At that instant, a scavenger came and asked to drink from the Lota. The Brahmin replied that his Lota would be rendered unclean by his touch. The scavenger replied, "Enough of caste pride now! Do you not know that soon you would bite with your teeth the flesh of the cow and the fat of the pig? The new cartridges are being expressly greased with these materials for this purpose! " when he heard this, the Brahmin ran wild with excitement towards the camp, as if the very devil was in him; and in a few minutes, the sepoys became excites-a crown of mad men!-and horrible whisperings were in the air. Suspicions arose that the Feringhis had arranged a cunning plot to defile their religions by greasing the cartridges with cows' blood and pigs' fat. The Sirkar replied that, far from such a plot being devised by them, the very story that the cartridges were greased with cows' blood and pigs' fat was absolutely without foundation!

Who was it then that spoke the lie? Was it the Sirkar or the sepoys? If the cartridges were really greased with cows' blood and pigs' fat, was it the result of mere ignorance or of conscious purpose on the part of the Government? That the English did not

know with what material the cartridges were greased cannot be held for a moment. For in 1853, when these cartridges were introduced for the first time and when "native" sepoys from Cawnpore, Rangoon, Fort William and other places, not suspecting that unclean things had been used in their manufacture, has bitten off these cartridges with full confidence in their superiors, even then the English authorities knew with what the cartridges were greased. In December 1853, Col.Tucker has mentioned this fact very clearly in the Government reports.

Why, even the Commander-in-Chief knew the fact and, in spite of this, the very things prohibited by the two religions were used and even factories for their manufacture were opened right in India! After ascertaining well this fact from the low caste Indians working in those factories, the sepoys of Barrackpore spread this news all over India. Even lightning travels not so quick! Within a fortnight, not a Hindu or a Mahomedan but was talking of cartridges and nothing but cartridges, wherever he was. And the stronger this public indignation grew, the stronger and more frequent grew the assertions on the part of the authorities, from the Governor-General down to the lowest white soldier, that the story of the cartridges was a mere fabrication.

These statements of the Feringhi Government were not only absolutely false, but they were put forward deliberately with the knowledge that they were false. The fact that the very Commander-in-Chief was aware of four years before, was now being openly denied by the Government. That in the factory at Dum-Dum cartridges were not greased with cows' and pigs' fat, that the ignorant and superstitious sepoys had started this wholly unfounded rumour- such were the assertions of the English historians until a very recent date.

But now, there does not seem to be the slightest doubt that the Government was well aware of this fact. The contractor who had undertaken to supply the fat for the cartridges had, in clear words, made a distinct agreement in his contract deed, drawn at that very time, to supply cows' fat. The agreement was that the cartridges should be greased with the fat of the cow, the Sacred Mother, buying the same at the rate of two pence (two annas) per pound.

And the sepoys should bite these cartridges with their teeth! When this cunning scheme was exposed, the Feringhi Government immediately issued orders that, thereafter, whatever fat was to be used for the cartridges should be only from sheep or goats, and that cows' and pigs' fat should never be used. If these orders mean anything they mean that so far the cartridges were being greased with cows' and pigs' fat.

It was necessary for them to issue this new regulation because they knew this fact. From the Government documents published by Forrest it is clear beyond a doubt that, in the fat used for the cartridges, cows' and pigs' fat was mixed, and that this fact was known to the highest English authorities in the land. And when the sepoys refused to bite these cartridges, the Feringhi military authorities used to swear that this was altogether false. Not only that, but they were threatened with severe punishment if they refused to obey the military orders through their silly prejudices. But when, regardless of these threats, it appeared that the sepoys were going to dare everything for the protection of their Dharma, then the Sirkar quietly retreated back and yielded on one point, allowing the sepoys to use a certain paper instead of fat. But what guarantee was there that a Government which could stoop to the meanness of using pigs' and cows' fat would not use some other mean trick of the same nature to make the paper substituted for the lubricating mixture smooth?

If once unconsciously they were defiled with cows' and pigs' meat thrust in their mouths, then the missionary colonels and padre commanders would say, "Look here, you have now been christianised!" If, on the one hand, the military superiors tried to soothe the indignation and anger of the sepoys by false denials and lowly retractations, on the other hand, they provoked them still more by distributing on the parades thousands of big pamphlets full of abuse of Rama and Mahomed to spite their religions.

The beginning of the agitation against the cartridges was started early in January and, before the month had ended, the Government had to yield on yet another point-a fresh regulation allowed the soldiers to use the fat they themselves prepared. Further, Birch, at the same time, by means of another Government

memorandum, assured all the sepoys that not a single objectionable cartridge had been sent into the army! The Prince of Lies could not have been more versatile!

Twenty-two thousand and five-hundred cartridges from the Umballa depot alone and fourteen thousand from the Sialkot depot had been already sent in 1856! In the rifle classes in various places, even at that very moment, practice in the use of these cartridges was being given! In the Gurkha Regiments, the cartridges were being openly introduced! And military authorities used to threaten the sepoys that they would be physically forced to use the cartridges. Why, in one or two places, when the sepoys were obstinate in their refusal to use these cartridges, whole regiments were punished severely.

So, the sepoys determined that, whether they had to use these cartridges or not, they would not rest quiet until they had destroyed this political slavery and this dependence which was at the root of all this trouble. What religion can a slave have? The first step towards Dharma is to be a free man of a free country. Rise, then, O Hindusthan, rise! Even as Shri Ramdas exhorted "Die for Dharma; while dying, kill all your enemies and win back Swarajya; while killing, kill well." Murmuring such sentiments to himself, every sepoy in India began to sharpen his sword for the fight for Sradharma and Swarajya!

LIT UP THE SACRIFICIAL FIRE

It is then inevitable that we must resist sword in hand and wage a relentless struggle to win back our political independence and to safeguard the honour of the ashes of our fathers and the temples of our gods. We must hence hasten first to propitiate the God of War, the Lord of Hosts, even as Indrajit did before he marched on to the battlefield, as the 'Puranas' tell us, to secure the unconquerable Chariot which he expected to appear forth out of the blazing Sacrificial Fire.

True it is that Indrajit was foiled in his attempt to secure it b ecause unrighteous was his cause. But our cause is just, is righteous! We need not fear frustration.

Even though we know that to fight for what we call Right does not unfailingly win though its inherent justificability or

righteousness unless and until it is upheld by proportionate Might, even then to fight for our Right to the best of our might is in itself a heroic joy which fills the warrior with a divine intoxication. Lit up the Sacrificial Fire then, for we must propitiate the Lord of Hosts, the God for War!

Dig the Sacrificial Fire-pit on the altar wider and wider, deeper and deeper! Well and good: Lo! The Fire of National Indignation is already bursting forth into flames! As the first sacramental rite, the Sankalpa, the declamatory vow, has already been proclaimed a hundred years ago as earli as the year 1757 A.D. So, as the first sacrificial offering, throw the Field of Plassey into the flaming pit!

Where is the Kohinoor of the Panjab? Here has Dalhousie himself offered to help us and brought it, snatching it away from its rightful owner the Khalsa of Guru Govindsingh! What sacrificial offering can be more igniting the hungry Fire than the Gem of "the purest ray serene", this ancient historical emblem of Indian Sovereignty? Throw then, the Kohinoor of Punjab in.

The next immediate offering must be Burma. So let its King Theeba be exiled and into this crackling Fire pit, throw in the kingdom of Burma too. How do you forget the Throne of Shivaji himself? What is the good of its keeping rotting at Satara? We must respect the right of precedence due to it! Help us Oh, obliging Britania by doing your worst with your ravenous claws and relegating the kings there to the graves-where they might yet rule freely-bring here the Maratha throne quick! That the Fire of National indignation may get more and more fed, fat ad fierce, throw the throne of Satara in!

The Gadi of Nagpur by itself could be but a poor offering for such a wild, warlike God. Hence bring ye, with the Gadi all the empty palaces, elephants, horses and the very anees too, not only with their jewels, rudely robbed but with their shrieks and weepings and wailings and in this Sacrificial Blazing pit throw it all altogether!

Even though the flames are rising like huge columns leaping forth into the skies higher and higher yet they must be lit still more intensely and fiercely. So throw the lightning of Zansi in! Ah! Hear you not now the rambling so deep, so roaring in the bowels

of this blazing fire pit, this 'Yadnya-Kund'? Surely some great explosive Revolutionary Birth is getting into line, form and figure! Feed up, Feed up the mighty sacrificial fire with anything and everything that is intensely combustible and at hand. So throw the Nabob of Oudh in! In with the Gadi of Tanjore! In witrh the Nabob of Arcot! Push in Raj Anguli, Sambalpur, all the Talukdars, Jahagirdars, Inamdars, Vatandars in fact all those who can affix a 'Dar' to their titles, depriving them of all their proprietary rights and possessions and making them all 'Nadars' — throw in, throw in!

And now has come to the time for Dum Dum! Hasten ye all, friends and foes, and bring all the new cartridges in millions from the Dum Dum type factories spread throughout India, dip them in cow's blood, boil them in pig's fat and throw them into this all absorbing, all consuming Jaw of Fire! There, from the white-heat point the wild fire has risen to War-heat!

Dancing on the b lazing flames out of the Sacrificial fire pit, Behold, arises at last the presiding Deity, terrible to look at! Salutes innumerable to Thee, O Ward God, O Lord of Hosts! Under whose fierce insolence tyranny and injustice are ground and burnt to ashes, by the mighty hammer in whose hands the shackles of slavery get knocked down to pieces and Nations are set free and whose hundred and one red hot tongues are lolling out from hundred and one mouths athrist to lick up battlefulls of blood when loaded war clouds burst out on Nations fighting for life, for death,-that aspect of Thee, O spirit of War, O Har- the terrible! We contemplate, we worship! Be propitious! Wilt thou, O Lord, sharpen the edge of our sword and bless it with Victory?

"If not, perchance, with victory-with Vengeance will I bless your sword !!-yes vengeance, the force deterent, the Nemesis which tyranny dreads like death and which holds in the hollow of its hands the deeds of a Victory to come !!"

While the forces of the Revolution were thus maturing themselves all over India, as described in the last chapter, in Brahmavarta a Programme was being prepared as to how to organise properly all the materials for the war so as to bring the War of Independence to a successful conclusion.

In the third chapter, we left Rango Bapuji and Azimullah Khan holding secret interviews with each other in some London rooms. Though history cannot record the exact conversation the Brahmin of Satara held with the Khan Sahib of Brahmavarta, still, it is as certain as anything can be that the map of the rising was being prepared by these two in London. After leaving London, Rango Bapuji went straight to Satara, but it was not possible for Azimullah Khan to go direct to Hindusthan. The extent of the domonions and the diplomacy of those against whom the war was to be wages were not now confined to Hindusthan alone. Hence, it was necessary to attach the British Empire in as many placed as possible. It was also essential that it should be ascertained from what quarters in Europe direct help or moral sympathy could be expected in the coming War of Independence. With this object, Azimullah Khan made a tour in Europe before returning to India. He want to the capital of the Sultan of Turkey famed throughout the world as the Khalifa of all Moslems.

Being informed that, in the Russo-Turkish War then going on, the English had been defeated in the important battle of Sebastopol, he stayed some time in Russia. Many English historians have a suspicion that Azimullah had gone there to ascertain whether Russia would pursue the war against England in Asia, and, if possible, to enter into an offensive and defensive treaty. When the trumpet of National War had been blown, all people openly declared that the Nana had completed a treaty with the Tsar of Russia and the Russian army was ready to fight against the Feringhis. If we bear this in mind, the above suspicion is strengthened. When Azimullah was in Russia, he had an interview with the well-known writer Russel, the military correspondent of the London Times.

The poor man could not have even dreamt that, immediately after the Turko-Russian War, he would have to send from Hindusthan news of the wonderful activities of his guest. As soon as Azimullah heard the news of the defeat of the English, and that the Russians had beaten back the attach of the united forces of the English and the French on the 18th of June, he obtained admittance into the English camp. His dress was Hindusthani and rich like that of a prince. As soon as Russell came out, Azimullah said to him. "I want to see this famous city and those great Rustoms, the Russians, who have beaten the French and the English together."Undoubtedly, Azimullah was a past master in irony and satire. This curiosity on the part of Azimullah to see these brave Rustoms who defeated both the English and the French Russell undertook to satisfy, by inviting him to his tent.

On that day, till the shades of sunset closed round them completely, "he was looking with marked interest at the fire of the Russian guns." One cannon-ball of the Russian guns burst right at his feet, but he did not move. The gay Azimullah, before returning home in the evening, said to Russell, "I have my serious doubts whether you could ever capture this strong fortified position." That night, Azim slept in Russell's tent, and he left next day, early in the morning. On the table was left this note: "Azimullah Khan presents his compliments to Russell, Esq., and begs to thank him most truly for his kind attentions."

It is difficult to say where Azimullah went after leaving Russia. Yet, from the mention in the Proclamation of Cawnpore later on, it would appear as certain he was trying to put through some diplomatic scheme in Egypt also.

So, Azimullah then completed his European tour and returned to Brahmavarta. As soon as Azim reached Brahmavarta, the whole political atmosphere of the palace was changed. The Jaripatka which had waves triumphant and victorious all over India lay so long in dust in the palace; the glorious drum of the Peshwas at the beating of which thousands of Mahratta swords had advanced on the battlefields and performed such deeds of wondrous valour, that drum hitherto only sounded melancholy to the ear; and the royal signet of the Peshwas on the sealing of which had depended the fate of the Mogul Empire had so far been lying sealing its own windowhood in the palace. But now all these appeared to be thrilled with extraordinary life. The dust-soiled Jaripatka shone forth again; the old drums which had almost forgotten their martial music were practising again the forgotten military airs; and the regal seals seemed to be eager, extremely eager.

The eyes of Shrimant Nana Sahib, "excited like those of a tiger, brilliant and fierce," since the arrival of Azimullah Khan, flashed more fierce from injured pride and shone more brilliant as he

drank inspiration from the words of Shri Krishna, "Therefore, get ready for battle." Every corner of Brahmavarta echoed with those eternal words, Tasmat yuddhaya yujyaswa. For, in Swadesh, even in their own Hindusthan, the people have been reduced to be slaves and have foreign masters: the Swaraj is no more, they have lost their natural rights of liberty! All the attempts to win back the country and its independence by conciliation and by money, and by appeal, had so far failed; hence, be ready for war. "If you are killed, you will get to heaven; if you win, you will enjoy the earth; so, be ready for war; you will not be committing any sin thereby"-it was such heavenly inspiration that gave to Nana's eyes extraordinary brilliance!

He studied the conditions of his country, saw the sufferings of his countrymen, noticed the destruction of his religion and, diagnosing all these chronic symptoms, he came to the conclusion that nothing but the sword could cure that terrible disease of slavery. Though it is not clear what was the ultimate ideal which he set before himself, still, it would appear that, in his opinion, the first thing to do was to drive the English out by unsheathing the sword and thus get independence; and then, to set up an Indian Government under the banner of the united authority of all the Indian princes. Before his eyes rose clear the history of how Swadesh fell into slavery through the turmoil of internecine quarrels. Before him, on one side was the portrait of Shivaji Maharaj, on the other of Baji Rao, his father. By seeing these two pictures side by side, he could well contrast the past glory and the present shame! And, hence, Nana's programme was first to fight a united fight, to make India free and, by removing internecine warfare, to establish the rule of the United State of India which would, thus, take its rightful place in the council of the free nations of the earth.

He, also, felt that the meaning of "Hindusthan" was thereafter the united nation of the adherents of Islam as well as Hinduism. As long as the Mahomedans lived in India in the capacity of the alien rulers, so long, to be willing to live with them like brothers was to acknowledge national weakness. Hence, it was, up to then, necessary for the Hindus to consider the Mahomedans as foreigners. And moreover this rulership of the Mahomedans, Guru

Govind in the Panjab, Rana Pratap in Rajputana, Chhatrasal in Bundelkhand, and the Maharattas by even sitting upon the throne at Delhi, had destroyed; and, after a struggle of centuries, Hindu sovereignty had defeated the rulership of the Mahomedans and had come to its own all over India. It was no national shame to join hands with Mahomedans then, but it would, on the contrary, be an act of generosity.

So, now, the original antagonism between the Hindus and the Mahomedans might be consigned to the Past. Their present relation was one not of rulers and ruled, foreigner and native, but simply that of brothers with the one difference between them of religion alone. For, they were both children of the soil of Hindusthan. Their names were different, but they were all children of the same Mother; India therefore being the common mother of these two, they were brothers by blood. Nana Sahib, Bahadur Shah of Delhi, Moulvi Ahmad Shah, Khan Bahadur Khan, and other leaders of 1857 felt this relationship to some extent and, so, gathered round the flag of Swadesh leaving aside their enmity, now so unreasonable and stupid. In short, the broad feature of the policy of Nana Sahib and Azimullah were that the Hindus and the Mahomedans should unite and fight shoulder to shoulder for the independence of their country and that, when freedom was gained, the United States of India should be formed under the Indian rulers and princes.

How to achieve this ideal was the one all-absorbing thought of everyone in the place of Brahmavarta. Two things were necessary for the success of this terrible war that was to be waged to win back freedom. The first thing was to create a passionate desire in Hindusthan for this ideal; the second was to make all the country rise simultaneously for the purpose of achieving it. To turn India's mind into the channels of freedom and to guide India's hand to strike for freedom, these two things it was necessary to accomplish; and this in such a manner that the Company's government should not suspect anything while the scheme was yet unripe. Not forgetting historical experience but guided by it, a secret organisation was resolved upon and, at once, started at Brahmavarta. To obtain all information, about this secret society, either now or in the immediate future, is as difficult as it is to

obtain the information about any other secret society. But upon the facts that occasionally come to light, one cannot but admire the skill of the organisers.

A little before 1856, Nana began to send missionaries all over India to initiate people into this political ideal. In addition to sending missionaries to awaken the people, Nana also sent tried and able men to the different princes from Delhi to Mysore, to fill their minds with the glorious ideal of the United States of India and to induce them to join in the Revolution. These letters which were sent into every Durbar secretly, clearly pointed out how the English were playing the game of reducing India to insignificance by annexing Swadeshi kingdoms under the pretext of "no heir", how those states which were spared yet would soon be reduced to the same fate as the others and how, under the yoke of slavery, country and religion were both being tramples under foot; and they concluded by exhorting the princes to work for the Revolution which was to make them free.

Direct evidence is available that messengers and letters from Nana were sent to the states of Kolhapur and Patwardhan, to the Kings in Oudh, the princes of Bundelkhand, and others. The English arrested one of such messengers at the Durbar of Mysore. The evidence given by this man is so important that we give it word for word below: "Two or three months before Oudh was annexed, Shrimant Nana Sahib had begun sending letters. First, no one would reply, for no one hoped for any success. After Oudh was annexed, however, nana began a regular battery of letters and, then, the opinions of Nana began to appeal to the Sirkars of Lucknow. Raja Man Singh, the leader of the Purbhayas, was also won over. Then the Sepoys began to organise amongst themselves and the Sirkars of Lucknow began to help them. No replies to letters were received till Oudh was annexed; but as soon as that was accomplished, hundreds of people came forward boldly and replied confidentially to Nana. Next came the affair of the cartridges and, then, the disaffection was so great that letters were simply showered on Nana". This very agent has given a long list of the letters sent by Nana to the various Durbars.

While agents of Nana were moving from one Durbar to another from Delhi to Mysore in order to draw them into the War of

Independence, it was in the Dewan-I-Khas of Delhi, more than in any other Durbar, the seeds of Revolution began to take root. The English had not stopped at merely taking away the Padshahi of the Padshah of Delhi, but had recently decided even to take away the title of Padshah from the descendants of Babar. The Emperor, though reduced to such an extremity, and Zinat Mahal, the beloved, clever, and determined Begum of the Emperor, had already decided that this last opportunity of regaining the lost glory should not be allowed to go by, and, if dying was the only resource, then, they should die the death which would only befit an Emperor and an Empress. At this juncture, the English were engaged in a war with Persia. Seeing that a simultaneous rising in India would be a help, the Shah of Persia began to open diplomatic correspondence with the Emperor of Delhi. In the Declaration of the Emperor of Delhi, it had been made quite clear that a confidential agent had been sent to Persia from the Delhi Durbar. While this intrigue was going on at the Durbar of the Shah, right in the city of Delhi agitation was started to stir the public feeling to its very depths. For this work, even public Proclamations were sometimes posted up on the wells of the town. In the beginning of 1857, a Proclamation couched in the following terms appeared boldly: "The army of Persia is going to free India from the hands of the Feringhis.

So, young and old, big and small, literate and illiterate, civil and military, all Hindusthanee brothers should leap forth into the field to free themselves from the Kaffirs." Though these Proclamations were ever and anon posted in public places, still the English could hardly trace the persons who posted these Proclamations; and Indian newspapers used to publish these Proclamations and to criticise them in mysterious language. The various Shahzadas and their retainers in the palaces of Delhi openly and secretly spread disaffection, and were engaged in weaving a net-work of conspiracies. In the grounds of Prince Nawab Bakht, for six years, Sergeant Fleming's son had been practising riding. But when, in the beginning of April 1857, this English youth went to the residence of Vizier Mahbub Ali, the prince, excited beyond measure, said, "Away, get away from here, I boil with rage when I see the face of any Feringhi!" So saying,

the Prince spat on him! Other people were working more secretly and quite differently from the manner of this abusive prince. Mrs. Aldwell says in her evidence, that she had personally heard Mahomedan mothers asking their children to pray that the English should be destroyed root and branch. Mukund Lal, Private Secretary of the Emperor of Delhi, says: "Sitting at the doors of the royal palace, used to discuss the Revolution openly.

The Sepoys would rebel soon; the army of Delhi would rise against the English; and then, all people, along with the army, would throw off the Feringhi yoke and enjoy Swaraj-such definite opinions were current. All people were inspired with the hope that, when once the Raj was won, all power and all authority would remain in their own hands." Thus, the every cellar, in every house in Delhi, the disaffection only awaited for a spark which should explode everything up.

Like the capital cities of Delhi and Brahmavarta, Lucknow also, the capital of Oudh, the last victim that had fallen a prey to the greed of Dalhousie, began to catch fire from the flames of the War of the Revolution. The Nabob of Lucknow and his Vizier were now residing near Calcutta. To all appearances, the Vizier of Lucknow looked as if he was wasting his time in luxury; as a matter of fact, however, Vizier Ali Nakkhi Khan was as much absorbed in his dangerous conspiracy near Calcutta as Nana Sahib himself was. One cannot help feeling wonderstruck at the schemes-secret, extensive, and daring-which Ali Nakkhi Khan was weaving to seduce the Sepoys in Bengal and to prepare them to join him at the right moment already fixed upon. Confidential agents were sent by him, in the garb of Fakirs or Sanyasis, to preach 'sedition' to the Sepoys. He opened correspondence with the Indian officers in the army to make them understand fully what immense advantages Swaraj could confer as compared with the service of the Company.

How the English had committed an unpardonable crime in annexing Oudh, how the royal family of the Nabob had been treated with insult, and how the very Queen and Begums were expelled with violence from the palace-pictures of such heart-rending tyranny were drawn with such pathos that the brave Sepoys began to weep profusely. And, then and there, the Sepoys

would take the water of the Ganges in their hands, or would swear by the Koran, that they would live only to achieve the destruction of the English rule. When Subahdar Majors, Subahdars, and Jamadars and the bigger officers were all sworn in, the whole regiment was naturally bound over. The Vizier of Oudh, by the use of such tactics, won over the whole army in Bengal. In Fort William itself, in Calcutta, the Revolutionary agents of Ali Nakkhi Khan moved silently.

After sending letters to the various Durbars from Brahmavarta, Nana exerted himself thoroughly to awaken all the latent power of the people. Wshen Brahmavarta, Delhi, Lucknow, Satara, and such other big and prominent princes figures conspicuously in the Revolutionary Organisation, how could this organisation suffer for want of money? To preach to all those who were a power among the people, thousands of Fakirs, Pundits, and Sanyasis were sent out in an incredibly short time. It is not true to say that all these Fakirs were true Fakirs; for, some of the Fakirs and Sadhus lived with the grandeur of Amirs. Elephants were given them for travelling. Guards armed to the teeth travelled with them, and every stage on their way was a regular camp. Provided with such paraphernalia, they could influence and impress the people better, and the Sirkar also had fewer reasons to suspect them. Influential and noble Moulvies were appointed to preach the political Jehad, and they were rewarded with thousands of Rupees.

Through towns and villages, these Moulvies and Pundits, these Fakirs and these Sanyasis began to travel, from one end of the country to the other, preaching secretly the war for political independence. Just this start was wanted, for this same trick was begun independently by other groups of the Revolutionary Organisation. After these paid missionaries came volunteers. Begging from door to door, they began to sow, in all directions, the principles of independence, patriotism, and love of Dharma-for the awakening of strength among the people. This work of preparing for revolutionary rising was done so cautiously and secretly that not much inkling of what was going on could reach even such cunning people as the English, until the explosion actually took place.

When such a Fakir or a Sanyasi went to a village, a strange agitation and an unrest began in that village, and of this the English were sometimes cognisant. Whisperings went on in bazaars; 'sahibs' were refused water by the Bhishtis,Ayahs left English homes without permission; Baberchis purposely stood before the Mem-Sahibs half-dressed; and Indian messanger boys walked insolently and slovenly before their "masters", when sent out. These Fakirs and Pundits used to walk round and about the military cantonments more particularly. From Barrackpore to Meerut, Umballa and Peshawar, they started secret societies and, more than that, practically surrounded every military cantonment.

The Hindu and Moslem Sepoys in the army being very devoted to their religious teachers, the Sirkar, though they might suspect them, could hardly proceed against them. For, they feared that the Sepoys would find in it another grievance against the Government. And, if the Sirkar did, by any chance, suspect them, these political Sanyasis sowed the seeds of the Revolutionary War in the very houses of the Sepoys in the neighbouring village. The authorities at Meerut were at last compelled to ask a Fakir, who was lodging near the Meerut military cantonment, to move away. As soon as this order came, like a simple, innocent man, this grand person left the camp on his elephant, only to go to a neighbouring village and establish himself securely in the houses of the Sepoys! That patriot Moulvie Ahmad Shah, whose sacred name has cast a halo round Hindusthan, whose glorious achievements we shall have to describe very soon, began similarly to tour through the country preaching the Revolutionary War. At last, when he began to preach in Lucknow itself, to thousands and tens of thousands in open meetings, that there was no other way of saving the country and the religion than by killing the English, he was arrested for sedition and sentenced to be hanged!

It was the custom to have a Mullah and a Pundit in every regiment for religious purposes. Taking advantage of this, the Revolutionaries entered the service as regimental Mullas and Pundits at the falling of the night, used to preach Revolution to the Sepoys secretly. Thus, these political Sanyasis toured from village to village for two years preaching Revolution, and at last succeeded in sowing the seeds of the terrible war to come.

While itinerant Sanyasis and itinerant preachers preached in the villages and the country, local preachers were being sent to the bigger towns. In all the important places of pilgrimage where thousands of people congregated, the ever-existing dumb dislike of the usurping Feringhi rule was intensified into active hatred by the Revolutionary preachers. The stir that was created at all the holy places on thebanks of the Ganges, how the Sankalpa (resolution) of Revolutionary War was made along with the usual Sankalpa for the bath-these and other facts will soon be narrated in the history of the rising of those places. The hatred of the Feringhis in those Kshetras (holy places) was so strong, that open prayers were started by the priests in the temples of Benares, on behalf of their own rulers belonging to their own religion.

In order to make clear to the common people, in simple and clear language, how Swadharma and Swatantrya-Religion and Independence-were being insulted, the all-comprehensive programme of the Revolutionary party had not left out of their consideration any of the festivals or the Tamashas in which people took interest and congregated in large numbers. The dolls in the doll-theatres began now to speak a strange language and to dance a dangerous dance; at police station, under the shades of trees in Dharmasalas, and at public squares, Powadas and Lawanis (ballads and epic lays) were sung with the gusto of a new mysterious interpretation. The fame goes and there is a strong conviction everywhere that the song of Allah-Udal, one of the most popular songs in Northern India, does at once rouse in the hearers the martial craving for war.

This heroic material song, sung with spiritby minstrels, would cause the arms of the hearers tingle and itch for battle, and their blood would begin to boil on listening to the exploits of their ancestors; then, the subject would suddenly be changed and before their eyes would be forced the image of their present helplessness. And the hearers would be roused to rise against the Feringhiand act in the present the heroism they admired in the past. Itinerant groups of Tamashgars, so innocent I themselves that the Government was not even cognisant of their existence, were used for the preaching of the Revolutionary War by these consummate Revolutionists. Starting from Calcutta, they went on to the Panjab

and, in the nights, exhibited their peculiarly dangerous Tamasha to their fellow countrymen.

These Tamashgars could not preach Revolution to the women, and so it would appear that the leaders of the Revolution sent out quack doctors and their wives-female gipsies-amongst the people, to move them with a new life and revolutionary discontent. The trick of using gipsies for their purpose was excellent. These gypsies used to foretell the destruction of English, depict the evil machinations of the alien rule and prescribe revolution as the only remedy and spell that could and would get rid of this evil which had possessed their Motherland! The coming narrative will show what a terrible hatred of the English had grown amongst the women and how anxious they were to destroy this rule. Thus, the war was preached in temples and Tirthas, in Kshetras, Jatras, and in festivals, on the road and in the house, amongst the Sepoys and the citizens, in Natakas and in Tamashas, to men as well as to women.

Everywhere was this hatred of slavery and the desire for Swaraj manifested. "My religion is tying, my country is dying: my people have been reduced to a condition worse than that of dogs!"-such were the fears that moved every heart; and an unconquerable desire arose in every heart, from prince to pauper, to make that country live and that people rise to the height of men. And the passionate conviction went forth that streams of blood were but a small price to achieve that independence; and that, therefore, "Din! Din!" and "Har! Har! Mahadev!"-the war cries of the Indians-must rend the air.

To instil into every heart the one great desire for indedpendence, and rouse it to action, there could be no more effective weapon than poetry. When the mass of the people are possessed by an idea which struggles for adequate expression, the poet, who realises the idea more intensely than the rest, gives it a beautiful expression, which at once touches their hearts and makes them love the idea still more. Hence the great part that national songs play in all revolutions. The national songs are an expression of the national sour under the sway of a strong ideal. They unite the hearts of the people with ease. When the soul of the land of Bharata was swayed by an intense passion for liberty,

for the protection of Swadharma and the attainment of Swarajya, strange indeed would it have been if the heart of the nation did not burst into song. The principal court bard of the Emperor of Delhi had himself composed a national song which was to be sung by every throat in Hindusthan, and the Emperor of Delhi, in person, had ordered that this should be sung on all occasions of public ceremony. It described the heroic deeds of the past and painted a pathetic picture of the present fallen state. In that national song was echoed the cry of the nation that those persons, whose heads had been crowned but yesterday with imperially aggressive independence, should be reduced to the condition of slaves to-day, that their religion which yesterday was the state religion should to-day be unprotected, and that heads crowned recently with glory should, alas, be trampled to-day under the foot of the foreigner.

While the national song was educating the people about their past glory and their present fall, a prophecy, that emblazoned the star of future hope and encouraged all, was heard, in the land. Prophecies are the leaps of the mind into the future. As soon as the heart of India began to long for Swaraj, the prophecies too began to point to Swaraj. From the northern snows to the extreme south, young and old circulated the prophecy that, thousands of years ago, a holy, ancient sage had foretold that the Feringhi Raj would end exactly a hundred years from the date of its creation! Indian newspapers gave wide publicity to this prophecy and interpreted it to mean that the Company's Raj would fall to pieces on the 23rd of June,1857. This one prophecy led to the performance of such wonders in Hindusthan that it may safely be asserted that, but for this prophecy, several portions of this history would have to be written in a different way altogether.

The year 1857 was the centenary of the Battle of Plassey and the Company's rule would end in that year-this idea created a strange hope and an extraordinary inspiration which moved every part of Hindusthan since the beginning of 1857. After a considerable heated discussion between various English historians as to who foretold this, it has at last been decided beyond doubt that it was the stratagem of the Hindus, since it was according to their almanacs that the 100th year of Plassey fell in the year 1857. By

this national prophecy, the impression of which is indelibly indited on some of the most important pages of this history, an extraordinary wave of agitation came over the hearts of the yound and old, and every one began to be ready to turn the prophecy into an actual fact.

The secret organisation of the Revolution, which was first started in Brahmavarta was now growing at a tremendous rate. By this time, nuclei had been established in various places in Northern India and regular communication had been established between them. Rango Bapuji was trying hard to create nuclei of this organisation in the Deccan. The palace at Brahmavarta was the focus of the activities at Cawnpore; the same function was performed for Delhi by the Dewan-I-Khas of that premier city. The great and saintly Ahmad Shah had woven fine and cleverly the webs of Jehad-the War of Independence-through every corner of Lucknow and Agra. Kumar Singh, the hero of Jagadishpur, had taken the leadership of his province and, in consultation with Nana, had been busy gathering materials for war. The seeds of the Jehad had taken such root in Patna that the whole city was a regular haunt of the Revolutionary party. Moulvies, Pundits, Zemindars, farmers, merchants, vakils, students, of all castes and creeds, were ready to give up their lives for the sake of Swadesh and Swadharma.

A very prominent leader of this secret organisation was a book-seller! Near Calcutta, the Nabob of Oudh and his Vizier, Ali Nakkhi Khan, had seduced all the Sepoys and were ready for the occasion. The Mahomedan population of Hyderabad began to call secret meetings. The coils of the Revolution began to wind themselves round the Durbar of Kolhapur. The states of Patwardhan, and the father-in-law of Nana, at Sangli, were ready to fight-with their followers-under the banner of the united nation, in the coming war. Why, right of Madras, in the beginning of the year 1857, the following Proclamation began to appear from the walls of the city: "Countrymen and faithful adherents of your religion, rise, rise ye, one and all, to drive out the Feringhi Kaffirs! They have trampled under foot the very elements of justice, they have robbed us of Swaraj; determined are they to reduce to dust our country. There is only one remedy, now, to free India from

the insufferable tyranny of the Kaffir Feringhis, and that remedy is to wage a bloody war. This is a Jehad for Independene! This is a religious war for justice! Those who fall in such battles will be their country's shahids. Opened wide are the doors of Heaven for the shahids. But Hell is burning fierce to engulf those wretches, whose cowardly traitors, who turn away from this national duty! Countrymen, of these, which would ye have? Choose now, even now!"

To link together the innumerable group of the various provinces which were workiong separately, men were employed to travel about secretly and letters were rarely used. If letters were used at all, they were written in a mysterious language, any mention of names being avoided. But when, after some time, the English persisted in opening any and every letter that appeared suspicious to them, the leaders, in order that their schemes should not come out and not even a trace should be known to others, began to carry on their correspondence in a kind of cipher; a sort of code was formed composed of dots and numbers, and this was used by them on all occasions!

While everywhere activity of this kind was going on, the blunder as to the cartridges, born of the criminal desire to spite the religious feelings of the Sepoys, was committed by the English. This filled the cup of their iniquity! Every soldier vied with every other to fire the first short. At the proper time, in the war to be waged for the object that was foremost in the minds of all their fellow-countrymen. We have already described how Nana and Ali Nakkhi Khan had acquired perfect control over the Sepoys of every regiment, and how thousands of Fakirs were sent into the regiments to seduce the Sepoys to patriotism. But after the mean and cunning trick was played by the English in respect of the cartridges, every Sepoy began, on his own account, to urge every other Sepoy to take the oath of fighting for their common country. In these two months, thousands of letters were sent from Barrackpore, in the name of the Nabob of Oudh, to the regiments stationed in the Panjab, in Maharashtra, and at Meerut, Umballa and other places. When immense bags full of letters were carried in the post, the English had their suspicions roused, and they-especially Sir John Lawrence-began to open these letters. All this

time an extraordinary self-confidence had been created in the Sepoys.

The Englishmen asked the Sepoys wounded in the battle of Kali Nadi and ordered to be blown from cannon mouths how they dared to rise against them; and the Sepoys replied, "If Sepoys are united, the whites would be like a drop in the ocean." A letter of one of these opened by the English says, "Brothers, we ourselves are thrusting the foreigners' sword into our body. If we rise, success is assured. From Calcutta to Peshawar, there will be an uncontested maidan." The Sepoys used to call together meetings secretly in the night.

All resolutions were passed in the general meetings, and all decisions passed in the inner circles were obeyed strictly and by all. When they used to come to the secret societies, they used to conceal their identity by covering their faces completely, leaving only their eyes uncovered, and then speak about the thousand and one oppressions committed in the country by the English. If any one of the members was suspected of telling the name of the conspirators to the enemy, he was immediately put to death. In order that common deliberation should take place between the various regiments, it was arranged that on festive occasions one regiment should invite another to a feast and, on this pretext, united gatherings were carried on successfully.

Meetings of select Sepoys were held in the house of the Subahdars. Though all political and religious wrongs were explained and commented on to the lowest Sepoy in the army, though every Sepoy knew about, and was anxious for, a fight with the English, still the knowledge of how to rise, when to rise, and who were the leaders of the various groups was not imparted to all. The work of deciding all these things was left to the officers, and every one was made of Tulsi, or by the Koran, that each one would do what the regiment should undertake to do. When one regiment was thus bound together, the chief committee of that regiment began negotiations with the chief committee of another regiment; each swore faithfulness to the other and they worked together. The mutual oath of the regiments, like the mutual oaths of the Sepoys were determined and decisive. Every regiment was a unit in the higher organisation.

The English afterwards gathered a good deal of material to determine what this organisation was, and Mr. Wilson gives the following information about the society, in the Government report: "From the available evidence I am quite convinced that the 31st of May, 1857, had been decided on as the date for simultaneous rising. Every regiment had a committee of three members; and this committee used to do everything connected with the Mutiny. The Sepoys had no idea what decisions were arrived at. Tye mutual agreements between the various regiments simply amounted to agreeing to do what the other regiments would do.

The committee had to decide on all important schemes, to do all the correspondence, and several other things. All came to the one important decision that the Sepoys should rise on the 31st. As it was a Sunday, they would be able to find a large number of European officers in church. All European officers, along with these, were to e murdered. Then all the treasuries, that would be full with the proceeds of the Rabbi crops, were to be looted. Jails were to be broken open and prisoners released. For in the North-Western provinces, from the prisoners alone an army of nearly 25,000 people could be formed." As soon as the rising rook place, the power-magazines and armouries were to be taken possession of. All forts and strategic positions were to be taken, wherever possible. Such was the secret structure of the Revolutionary Organisation, and it had bound together the whole army.

To supply the sinews of war to the secret organisation, the Sahukars of Lucknow, the palaces of Nana and Vizier Ali Nakkhi Khan, the Mahal of Delhi, and other heads of the Revolutionary party were sufficient. While the Sepoys were concerting their secret schemes, some secrets, now by a trifling mistake, now through a traitor, leaked out. Then, the English Government issued orders that the whole regiment about which the suspicion of disaffection arose should be at once dismissed. That, was most excellent. Why? The Government thus actually gave to the country so many volunteer Sanyasis to spread the fire of Revolution all round. The various Durbars of Hindusthan, the ordinary people, and the military-these three divisions of the people were linked together by the indefatigable efforts of the able Revolutionary leaders. There still remains the class of civil officers. An outline

of the particular part which this class played in the structure of the Revolution must be given. The coming pages will clearly show that most of the more prominent Indian civilians in Northern India had taken a leading part in the "mutiny". From the Patel and Kulkarni of the village to the native judge of the high court, Hindu and Mussalman officers of all ranks, pleaders and clerks, had joined the Revolutionary Organisation secretly.

The fact that the Government had not the least idea of the extensive organisation is easily explained; for these native officers alone are the eyes with which the Government was to see anything. But, on the other hand, it had been decided that, until the critical moment, these Government officers should not show even the least opposition to the Sirkar. Not only that, but very often it happened that, when it was necessary to arrest a Revolutionary leader, these Indian officers, who were the accomplices of this man, used to treat him as cruelly as an English officer would do, and used to sentence him to heavy punishment. When the Meerut Sepoys were tried, it was the native judges that passed heavy sentences on them; but it came to light that these very judges were scheming for a Revolution. Anonymous proclamations were posted at every square of the city of Lucknow, written invery strong language, to agitate the masses.

These proclamations were couched in fiery and violent language. We give the following as a specimen. "Hindus and Mahomedans, rise unitedly and decide, once for all, the fate of the country; for, if this opportunity is allowed to slip by, not a single way will be left open to the people even to preserve their lives. This is the last chance. Now or never!" Though the English authorities knew well that proclamations were issued every day, they could to no more than tear them off; and still, every time they were destroyed, new ones were put up. The police used to declare that it was impossible for them to find out as to who put up these posters and when they were put up. The English came to know the reason soon after. The police themselves were the prominent members of the Revolutionary party.

Not alone in the revolution of Russia, but in the Revolution in India, too, the police were found to be in sympathy with the people. The programme, then, of the civil officers was to join

secretly in the Revolutionary organisation of their countrymen without giving up government service and, when the right time came, to work on under Swarajya, performing those very functions which they were all doing under the English government.

Now that the wheels of the secret machinery of the Revolution were set in motion, it was necessary to arrange that all the various motions should be synchronised. With this purpose in Bengal, a messenger of the Revolutionaries went to the cantonments, taking a red lotus in his hand. He would give the red lotus into the hands of the chief Indian officer in the first regiment. The chief would pass it to the one next to him, and so the red lotus would pass from Sepoy to Sepoy through the hands of all the thousand Sepoys, and then the last Sepoy would return it back to the Revolutionary messenger. That was enough! Without a whisper or a word, the messenger would pass on like an arrow and, as soon as the next regiment was in sight, he would give the red lotus in the hands of its chief officer. In this way, the organisation, so full of poetry, became impressed with one opinion, with revolution, with blood. The red lotus was the final seal of the organisation. What a tumult of thoughts must be raging in the mind of every Sepoy when he touched the red flower! That courage which it would have been impossible for the eloquence of orators to inspire was imparted in those warlike fellows by the dumb lotus flower and by the mute eloquence of its red, red colour.

A lotus flower! The symbol, the poet-appointed symbol, of purity, victory, light! And its colour red, vivid red! The very touch of the lotus flower makes every heart bloom. When the Sepoys, hundreds upon hundreds, were passing on rapidly from hand to hand this lotus flower, the eloquence of it must have been full of wild suggestions and wilder aspirations. "The red lotus really made all the people one; for, in Bengal, both the Sepoys and agriculturists were found giving expression to this one sentiment, 'All is going to be red!', with a movement of the eyes which betrayed an extraordinary, mysterious pregnancy of meaning". 'All will be red'- with what?

This red lotus and this suggestive sentiment had made all "one-voiced" as far as individuals were concerned. But, it was also necessary to make all the principal nuclei one-voices through

mutual visits. So Nana came out from the palace of Brahmavarta to link together into one chain the various links-nuclei of the organisation. With him started his brother, Bala Sahib, and his amiable and witty councillor, Azimullah. And why did they start? "For a pilgrimage!" Indeed! A Brahmin and a Moslem are starting together, arm in arm, to visit the holy, religious places,-an event without a precedent!

This was in the March of 1857. Most essential was it now, indeed, to visit at least once the places of pilgrimage-and the first that they visited was Delhi. Only the Dewan-I-Khas or, perhaps, the atmosphere of Delhi could speak about the accents with which the consultations were carried on! At this very time, a judge of Agra, one Mr.Morel, came to see Nana.

The later gave him such a hearty welcome that he did not have the least suspicion about the diffrerent kind of welcome which Nana was busy preparing for the English and which he was going to offer within a month or two. After supervising all arrangements at Delhi, Nana went to Umballa. On the 18th of April, he reached Lucknow, the important centre among the various nuclei.

On that very day the people of Lucknow had followed the buggy of Sir Henry Lawrence, Chief Commissioner Sahib, and pelted him with a shower of mud and stones. And now Shrimant Nana had come there! This infused the whole city of Lucknow with an almost uncontrollable joy and excitement. Nana started in a huge procession through the chief streets of Lucknow, and a strong confidence was instilled in the Revolutionary party on seeing their would-be commander. Nana voluntarily went to Sir Henry Lawrence and told him that he had come to see Lucknow out of simple curiosity. Sir Henry issued orders to all the officers to show due respect to Nana. Poor Sir Lawrence! He did not know what this simple curiosity meant. After visiting Lucknow, Nana went to Kalpi. The diplomacy of Nana was actgively going on, this time with Kumar Singh of Jagadishpur who was in intimate correspondence with him about this time.

Thus after personally visiting the leaders of the principal nuclei at Delhi, Umballa, Lucknow, Kalpi, etc., and drawing up a clear programme and a definitely outlined map of the future campaign, Nana returned to Brahmavarta about the end of April.

While, by visiting the principal leaders, Shrimant Nana was touring to determine the date and bring about the necessary unity of purpose, a strange band of secret messengers to Revolution were going about at express speed throughout the length and breadth of India, to prepare the people for the great day. These messengers were not a new thing at all. Whenever the work of Revolution was started, these agents-Chapatees-have as a rule done the work of carrying the errand far and wide in the land. For, in the Mutiny of Vellore, too, Chapatees were used to perform the same function.

These angels with unseen wings were flying through every secret corner of the country, setting the mind of the whole country on fire by the very vagueness of the message. Whence they came and whither they went, no one could say. To those alone who were expecting them these strange symbols carried the exact message and spoke with limited significance; as for those whom they took unawares, illimitable was the conversation that they carried on!

Some silly Government officers tried to get hold of these Chapatees, cut them to small crumbs, powered them, and powered once more, and tried if they could give some message; but, like witches the Chapatees had to tongue when they were asked to speak. The Chapatee spoke only to those it meant to speak to. It was made from wheat or millet flour. Nothing was written on it; yet it inspired the men who knew it with a strange Revolutionary energy at its very touch. The Choukidar of every village had it. He ate a bit of it first himself and gave the rest, as Prasad, to those who asked.

The same number of Chapatees were made afresh and sent to the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages. The Choukidar of the latter place would send it to yet another village and, so, this fiery red cross of India travelled from village to village, kindling with flames every village it touched. Speed on, Angel of Revolution, speed on! Go thou forth to preach the Gospel to all the dear children of India, that the country is ready for a holy war to make everyone of them free. Dash on, Messenger, to all the ten directions, not stopping even at midnight, piercing the air with the age-

inspiring cry, "The Mother goes forth to the war! March on! March on!! Save her!!!" The gates of the cities are closed; still wait not thou till they open-but fly over through the air. The mountain-defiles are deep; broken are the steep ascents; the rivers are wide, the forests are dangerous; still dread thou not, but speed like an arrow with this terrible national message.

On thy speed depends the life or the death of the Desh and the Dharma. Hence cover as many miles as thou possibly canst and race with the wind! When the enemies destroy one shape of thee, go, thou miraculous Angel, assuming hundreds of forms at this critical period of our national existence!

In every shape and form of thy speed create for thyself a thousand tongues. Invite all-wife and husband, mother and child, sister and brother- to come with their relatives to accomplish the predestined task! Invite the spears of the Mahrattas, the swords of the Rajputs, the Kirpan of the Sikhs, the Crescent of the Islamites-invite one and all to make the ceremony a success. Call the Goddesses of War at Cawnpore! Call the Goddesses of the forts in Jhansi! Call the Goddesses of Jagadishpur. To bless the work of national Revolution, bring with thee all thy relations, drums and trumpets, flags and banners, clarionets and war-songs, thunderings and war-cries. The martial spirit of the nation is awaiting the signal. Tell them all, "The auspicious hour is soon to strike; so, be ready!"

Ready! Friends, be ready! And, O unfortunate Tyranny sleeping unconsciously and proud on the green, green hills, be thou ready too! The world might believe that a hill appearing green from a distance is really green. Nor does it fully know yet what a mistake it is to trample under foot the crown of such a hill. Trample, aye, trample! Now shines forth the year 1857, and in a moment it will be clear that the description of Kalidas applies literally to India.

"In those whose wealth is their penance and patience, forget not there is a concealed fire, which, if it bursts forth, can consume the whole world!" O world! Our India has certainly patience as its prominent feature; but do not, on that account, take undue advantage of it for within her heart, whose treasure is all-forbearing calmness, resides concealed, the terrible fire for vengeance too.

Hast thou ever beheld the third eye of Shankar? That is calmness itself while it is closed; but from it can issue the flames which can reduce the whole universe to ashes! Hast thou ever beheld a volcano!

Apparently it is clothed with soft green vegetation; but let it once open its jaws, and then all sides will begin to pour forth boiling lava. Like unto that this living volcano of Hindusthan, fierce as the third eye of Shankar, has begun to boil. Terrible streams of lava in its interior are bubbling up tumultuously. Dangerous mixtures of explosive chemicals are being formed, and the spark of the love of liberty has fallen on it. Let Tyranny take heed when it is not yet too late! Neglect it in the least, and a thunderous explosion would teach insolent Tyranny what a volcanic vengeance really means!

7

SAVARKAR'S REVOLUTIONARY WRITINGS

Savarkar started to write his Autobiography in the 1930s, but British Administrators forbade such writing. He therefore started to write it after the Indian independence in 1947. First part, dealing with his childhood and reviewing the political situation in India from 1857 to 1906, was published in Marathi in 1952.

The second part of the autobiography dealing with his work in London (1906-10) was published in Marathi in 1965. It has been translated below into English (by VS Godbole, London). This book should be read in conjunction with another book 'Newsletters from London sent by Savarkar'.

Savarkar shows us how the Indian freedom struggle moved through the following phases.

(1) Prayers, petitions and deputations of the Moderates

(2) Swadeshi or sponsoring of indigenous Indian industries and boycott of British goods, by the Militants.

(3) Home Rule movement of Shyamji Krishnavarma

(4) Armed revolution of Savarkar.

Savarkar reviews movements of other leaders and tells us how he changed the minds of Indian youth and also of the elder Indians in London. The following are two well-known examples:

** Mr C D Deshmukh stood first in the ICS examination in 1919. But he was not sure whether he should join the Civil Service or join the Indian freedom struggle. He sought advice of Tilak (father of the Indian unrest), who was in London at that time. Tilak told Deshmukh, "Everyone is not cut out for politics.*

After independence, we will require capable and experienced administrators. So, do join in the Indian Civil Service."

Deshmukh became Finance Minister in Nehru's cabinet in 1952.

** Subhashchandra Bose stood 4th in the ICS examination in 1920. He expressed his anguish; "I have been getting heaps of congratulations on my standing fourth in the competitive examination. But I cannot say that I am delighted at the prospect of entering the ranks of the ICS. If I have to join this service I shall do so with as much reluctance as I started my study for the ICS examination with. A nice fat income with a good pension in afterlife (i.e. in retirement)-I shall surely get. ….. But after all is service to be the be-all and end-all of my life? The Civil Service can bring one all kinds of worldly comfort but are not these acquisitions made at the expense of one's soul?" (Netaji: Collected Works, page 208)*

Eventually Bose decided NOT to join the ICS, but to take part in India's freedom struggle.

[Note-In June 1940, after the Dunkirk episode, Bose called on Savarkar in Bombay and on his advice, he slipped out of India, first to Germany and then to Japan. Bose formed the Indian National Army and recruited Prisoners of War held by the Japanese. Unfortunately Japan surrendered after atom bombs were dropped on its cities by the U.S in August 1945 and eight days later Bose himself died in a plane crash. But it became clear to the British rulers that the loyalty of the Indian Army could no longer be taken for granted. They had no choice but to leave India.]

Savarkar gives a glimpse of how; numerous unknown individuals had helped in his armed revolutionary movement. One should remember that his scholarship was not sufficient even to cover cost of boarding and lodging in England, let alone for other expenses. He had to seek help from his father-in-law, to make ends meet.

Following is the English translation of Shatruchya Shibirat; Samagra Savarkar Vangamaya (Complete works of Savarkar) Volume I (Autobiography part I), part 4 -Editor's Name-Vinayak

Damodar Savarkar Place of Publication-Mumbai (Bombay), India, Publisher-Veer Savarkar Prakashan Date of publication-1993

On Board the Ship S.S. Persia

On 9 June 1906, I boarded the ship s.s Persia at Bombay to travel to London.

Very soon, the ship left the shores of India. My friends and relations had gathered to see me off. I could no longer see them. I said to myself, "How sorry I am to say good bye to them. Is it possible that I will return to India in three years time and meet them again?" The ship gathered speed. The seashore could not be recognised any more. I was still looking at the direction of the shore. But the other passengers, who had also seen off their relatives, had already moved on and were busy finding their rooms and arranging their bags. Most of them were Europeans or Anglo-Indians. Some were returning to England with their families. All of them seem to be used to sea travel.

There were some who were travelling for the first time, but they were with their friends. They were happy and were laughing. But for me it was my first travel over such a long distance and I had no friends with me. In those days very few Hindus travelled abroad and Europeans looked down on Indians as 'Natives'.

I could feel this contempt in their eyes. It was the first time; I faced a crowd of Europeans alone.

I soon realised that I must find where my room was, but whom should I ask? All the staff, white and black were busy in looking after the European passengers. No one was bothered about me. Eventually I found courage to approach a European officer. I showed him my ticket and asked how I should find my cabin. Luckily he was employed by my travel agents, Thomas Cook and Sons. It was his job to deal with such requests. He realised that I was travelling for the first time. He said, "Here is my assistant. He will help you." The assistant was from Goa and he took me to my cabin. As I entered the cabin, I saw a young Sikh, some three years younger than me, who was busy arranging his bags. He was smart, with fair complexion and wearing a turban. He asked me, "Are you Mr Savarkar?" I said Yes and he was delighted. He said, "I was waiting for you. There are places

for two passengers in this cabin. This is mine that one is yours. I am so delighted that my companion is Indian. But the time was passing by and I wondered if you had changed your mind. I am travelling for the first time by sea. There are two or three Punjabis, but they have their cabins further down. I am so delighted that you are Mr Savarkar."

When faced with staying away from our kith and kin in a foreign land, one feels isolated and sad. However, when we meet a fellow countryman, how delightful the meeting becomes. I said to the Sikh youth, "I am also delighted to make acquaintance with you. What is your name?"

He said, "Harnamsingh."

Over the next two to three days we met those Punjabis mentioned by Harnamsingh. There were also a few more Indians and soon we formed a small group of about ten. Rameshchandra Dutta, well-known retired ICS officer was also travelling in the same ship, but in First class. The readers are going to come across the name of Harnamsingh hereafter. I therefore give some details about him.

Harnamsingh was born in a respected Sikh family near Amritsar. He lost his father at young age. His mother loved him dearly and got him married by the age of eighteen. He soon passed his B A examination. Maharaja of Nabha state was impressed by Harnamsingh and decided to send him to England to become a Barrister. He offered him suitable scholarship for the studies. In those days, there were hardly any Sikh Barristers. Many Sikhs felt that Harnamsingh would not only become rich but also become a boon for the Sikh society. They therefore heartily supported the idea of Harnamsingh going to England. But his mother? She had no other children. She was worried stiff-my boy is going to stay in England for three or four years, how will he manage? How can I stay without him for so long? She said, "You become a lawyer here. We are not short of money, even if you do not work. What is the need for going overseas?" Moreover, most people considered going overseas as objectionable, a dangerous adventure. In the end, a few respected men suggested that Harnamsingh should come home once a year and his scholarship should be increased accordingly. The mother agreed

grudgingly. We will see later what happened in reality. Among my fellow travellers I must mention one person in particular (later on Savarkar called him Mr Etiquette).

He was a rich youth from Punjab, aged about thirty. He had travelled to Europe many times. He, like many others, had adopted western way of life and as a result, people like him felt that they were equal to foreign rulers.

So, even at home he behaved as if he was an Englishman. Maharaja Shinde of Gwalior has named his son as George. In Bengal and Madras, people styled their surnames to sound like English ones like Ray. Thus, for example, Chattopadhya became Chatterjee, Bandopadhya became Banerjee. Fathers were called Papa, Mothers became Mummy. Though this person on our ship had not been anglicised to that extent, he felt that unless our people and especially students adopt European customs and manners in dress, having lunches and dinners, even going to the extent of smoking a pipe and drinking; we would not be considered as equal to Europeans. He and many of his age sincerely felt the same. Many Indian students who had gone to England for the first time were also of the same opinion.

Experience of the Previous Travellers

Late Mr Surendranath Banerjee had described in his biography, how difficult it was to go to England in his younger days and what was the mental attitude of those who dared to go to England. He wrote:

"As I have observed I started for England on March 3rd 1868. Romesh Chandra Dutt and Beharilal Gupta were with me. We were all young in our teens and visit to England in those days was a more serious affair than it is now. It did not only mean absence from home but the grim prospect of social ostracism. We all three had to make arrangements in secret, as if we were engaged in some nefarious plot of which the world should know nothing. My father was helping me everyway but the fact had to be carefully concealed from my mother and when at last on the eve of my departure the news had to be broken to her she fainted away under the shock of what to her was terrible news". (p10)

"A visit to England, however, was a new form of heterodoxy to which our country had not yet become accustomed. The anglicised habits of some of those who had come back from England added to the general alarm". (p26)

"Some of our best men had fallen victims to the curse of drink. It was considered to be an inseparable part of English culture. A man who did not drink was hardly entitled to be called educated. The saintly Raj Narayan tells us how he himself meeting other friends called for a drink and how they were found all lying on the floor in a state of more or less inebriety." (page7).

What happened after Banerjee returned from England?

Banerjee says, "Although I was taken back into the old home by the members of my family, the whole attitude of Hindu Society, of the rank and file, was one of unqualified disapproval. My family was practically outcasted. We were among the highest of Brahmins, but those who used to eat and drink with us on ceremonial occasions stopped all social contacts and refused to invite us." (page 26).

Mr Surendranath also mentions how majority of "England Returned" leading gentlemen took to the European style of eating and drinking at home and some of them went to the length of throwing the leftovers of their meals, bones and flesh and all over their wall into the compounds of their orthodox neighbours just to spite their religious feelings."

[Note-Suez Canal was opened only in 1869. Surendranath Banerjee had to travel to London via Cape of Good Hope at the southern tip of South Africa, a journey of some 8,000 miles!!]

We Need to Change when we go Abroad

Now let us return to my voyage to England.

Apart from the misconceptions in the mind of my friend on the ship (who advocated adopting English customs), there was some truth in it. I always maintained that when we need to stay in a foreign country like England for a number of years, we need to adopt the customs, manners and daily routine of the host country, as long as these do not involve any humiliation on our

part. The reason being that we go to foreign countries for specific purpose, which is best served by adapting to changed circumstances. Moreover, we can compare their traditions with those of ours and decide if we need to make any changes for our benefit.

Though these were my opinions, my departure to England was so sudden that I could, not only, not get accustomed to eating habits of the English but also did not have time to get sufficient clothes made for my stay in England. In India I had no idea of how to dress like an Englishman (collar, trouser, suit, boot etc). I did not even have any curiosity. In the eyes of my friend on the ship (later called Mr Etiquette), I was totally unsuitable for independence. Well, in the end I surrendered to him and learned from him how to dress like a European. It was much more difficult to learn how to eat with fork and spoons. At times, the situation became dangerous. I had no qualms about meat eating but I was always a vegetarian. But on the ship most of the dishes were non-vegetarian. My friend had warned me-knife in right hand, fork in the left. When meat pieces are cut they are to be put in the mouth with the fork. But while observing how others eat, I forgot the lesson and like Hindu custom put forward the right hand in my mouth. It had my knife and my lips started to bleed. I bent down and held handkerchief to my mouth and got up so that others would think that I had become seasick. Eating fish was just as difficult. I did not know where the bones were and how to separate them from the flesh. This led to some embarrassing incidents. I cut a fish and put the piece in my mouth and started to chew. All of a sudden I hit the bones. I had no option but to throw it away. I was very embarrassed and decided not to eat fish, but then, what was I supposed to eat? Other vegetarian friends were also in the same situation. Ultimately we sought help form our experienced friend. He ordered some cooked fish to our room and demonstrated how to cut open a fish, where the bones are located etc. and how to eat fish. He also told us that there was a special knife to cut fish.

I sincerely thanked our experienced friend. I had nicknamed him Mr Etiquette and will refer to him by that name. Later, he changed his views and joined our secret society -The Abhinav

Bharat, but on the condition that his name should never be mentioned. Today (*i.e.* 1965) I do not know where he is or even if he is alive.

Harnamsingh

Harnamsingh was a Sikh, a Keshadhari, which means that he would not cut his hairs and had to tie them above the head like ancient sages. It was therefore impossible for him to wear a cap of any kind. He had to wear a turban. Even though he wore a collar, necktie etc. like a European he wore turban also. In those days (*i.e.* by 1906) very few Sikhs had travelled abroad, therefore he presented a sight of some clumsiness, or an eccentric. Therefore, to the Europeans, especially to their women and children, a man with a turban was a sight of fun. It used to make them laugh.

At times, our group of Indian youth used to go on the deck to enjoy fresh air. Harnamsingh, who shared a cabin with me also used to join us. Europeans pointed at his turban and laughed. At first, we ignored them. But one day their children pointed to the turban and said, ' what a funny hat ' and came very close to him. Their parents, instead of controlling the children, also began to laugh.

Harnamsingh moved on, Mr Etiquette pushed a white boy aside. As a result, the rest of the children went away and their parents too did not make a fuss. But after we returned to our cabin, Mr Etiquette said to me, ' Savarkar, tell Harnamsingh not to wear the turban. Why should we dress that makes the Europeans laugh at us and ridicule our behaviour? Though they laughed at Harnamsingh, I felt that it was an insult to all of us. In future, if he insists on wearing the turban, I will not go on the deck.'

I reacted, "My friend, I will never tell Harnamsingh to abandon the turban. Some of our customs are out of date and harmful. I am ahead of all of you in proposing their abandonment. I am far more reformist when it comes to that. However, it is sheer cowardice to abandon certain customs merely because the Europeans laugh at them. Apart from convenience, if we look at it aesthetically, our turbans are far more appealing and colourful than the European hats, which look like dustbins. We should use hats when they are suitable for the occasion. Moreover, wearing

a turban is essential to the Sikh way of life. To stop wearing it, simply because Europeans laugh at it, is a national insult to us. I say, ' Why don't WE ALL wear turbans and go on the deck for a walk. When Europeans see that we are all united, their ridicule will subside."

Mr Etiquette sprung up and said, "You said the right thing. From tomorrow, I too will wear a turban and accompany Harnamsingh." Thus I had been successful in kindling his self-respect.

I used to argue in many ways with Indian youth, who were suffering from inferiority complex and try to teach them self-respect. I led this course of action to change their outlook, to make them aware of current politics and to induce them to join the Indian freedom struggle. In short, I used to say, "Today, the English are ruling over us. We therefore have to learn their habits in detail. And while doing that, if we make mistakes, we feel so shy and guilty. I also used to feel the same way. But that is wrong. When we were masters in our land and Europeans came to our land for trade, they too had to learn our customs and manners, they too made silly mistakes and our forefathers too laughed at them in those days."

"Today, in the streets of London, Indians are teased as blackies. But we must remember that when the English came to Pune in the days of Maratha Peshwas, in the 18th and 19th century they too were called, 'Red faced' (topiwale ingraj). The English could not walk without shoes. But in our courts they had to remove their shoes and walk barefoot. They must have felt very awkward indeed. They were also not used to sitting on the floor, as it was not done in England due to cold climate there. But they had to sit cross-legged in our courts and must have felt very uncomfortable in sitting that way. No doubt, our forefathers must have laughed at them too. That is natural human reaction."

"There are interesting stories of experiences of the English in the 18th century. A Maratha Sardar (Knight) invited an officer of the East India Company for dinner. But the seating arrangement was in Indian style, i.e. no tables or chairs, no knifes and forks. With great difficulty, the English officer sat down. He was not sure which item of food, he should start with.

So, he picked up karanjee, which looked like a cake. It had desiccated coconut inside. He was surprised and said, "How come coconut pieces went inside? "There was a great laughter among the participants."

"Such events happen all the time, when people of two different cultures meet. However, there is nothing to be ashamed of them. It is all to be taken as simple fun."

"But these English men and women do not laugh at us merely as a matter of fun. They laugh out of arrogance and to despise us. They thereby imply that they are ruling over us, and therefore all their customs and traditions are superior to ours. That lies behind their laughter."

"Our own people who believe that if we learn the manners and customs of the English, they will respect and consider us worthy of political reforms should think a little. Look at the thousands of Indian Christians. They have adopted the customs and manners of the English, including their religion. Of course they cannot change their colour. But have they been given any political rights? None whatsoever!!"

"Consider the Irish. They do not even have problem of colour (they are white like English). Why are they not granted the Home Rule in their affairs? Why are the English ruling over them with fixed bayonets? So, my friends, adoption of customs and manners of the English is not the criterion for the political advancement."

"Now look at the Japanese. They inflicted a smashing defeat on the Russian Navy in 1904/05. And immediately these flat nosed, short fellows became worthy of friendship of the English. Customs and manners are of secondary or even of tertiary importance!!"

On board the ship 's.s. Persia', I met some young Indian students. No matter what the topic of discussion with them was, I always tried to connect it to the Indian freedom struggle, as can be seen from the above example. Thus, the youth were awakening to the Indian politics and so political debates began to take place. At first, most of them were either uninformed or were not interested in the subject. Some even said that it was one of the conditions

for their scholarships that they must not take part in any political movement.

I used to say: 'Fair enough. You cannot take part in political movements, but that does not prevent you from taking part in political discussions. So, why not join in?' How such small beginnings eventually led them to join in the freedom struggle is explained later."

I Changed the Mind of Harnamsingh

Those who travel a long distance across the seas have to face two reasons for sorrow from day one. First is seasickness and the second is homesickness. Seasickness makes one vomit often. Luckily, even though it was my first sea travel, I did not suffer from seasickness. But homesickness was severe. I lost my parents at young age, and having experienced the horrors of bubonic plague, we three brothers and my elder brother's wife were very close. Even otherwise I used to feel affinity to any friends or relations. I used to feel restless at the loss of their company. However, now I had to do my duty and to control my sorrow. I had to hold back my sorrow and tears.

That was harsh but without it, my aim would not have been achieved. I had to pay the price. Other Indians suffered from seasickness. They could not take food for three or four days, but they did not suffer from homesickness. They had dreams of becoming Barristers and later making money or joining the ICS and enjoying high authority. They were therefore smiling. The only exception was that of Harnamsingh.

Harnam soon became seasick. He was bedridden and could not eat. I nursed him as much as I could. But he also became homesick. He wanted to go back to his family. He could not stand the separation and the thought of being away from home for so long worried him.

Finally he said to me, ' Savarkar, you are the only close friend I have. You will laugh at me, but I cannot bear the pain of being away from my family. We are not short of money at home. I wish to see my relatives right now. It takes fifteen days even to hear from one's relatives. How can I stay for so long in a foreign land? I do not want to become a Barrister. Once we reach Aden, I will

purchase a return ticket and go back to India. In a way, I feel ashamed that I am so weak, so fickle, but.. '

I interrupted and said, ' You love your family so much. You should not be ashamed of that. It is but natural that you should feel restless and homesick. However, if we love our kith and kin so much, should we not be prepared to suffer for the sake of the very same people? At times, one must suffer separation from one's family for a higher aim in life. I feel just like you. I too wish to meet my family right now, but I am controlling my urges, for achieving higher things in life. We must resist such temptations. It is our very love of our people that should give us strength to survive through the period of separation.'

I then reminded Harnam of Guru Govind Singh (1666 -1708), the 10th and the last Guru of the Sikhs, who organised them into a fighting force and raised the sword to protect Hindus from the onslaught by the Mughals. His eldest son Ajit Singh aged 17 was killed in the battle of Chamkour. Then, his second son Juzar Singh aged 13 went out in the battlefield. He too died fighting the Mughals.

The next day, Guru Govind Singh escaped the siege with his family. However, he got separated from his remaining two sons who were captured by the Mughal Subedar of Sarhind on 27 December 1704. When they refused to embrace Islam, Jovar Singh aged 8 and Fateh Singh aged 5 were bricked up and left to die by the Mughals.

I continued, "Both of us revere Guru Govind Singh. Was that warrior a heartless person? Of course not. He was an ocean of affection. When he heard that Jovar Singh and Fateh Singh were bricked up and left to die, he exclaimed

> *"My great heroes! They died for the Hindu Dharma.' Suppose, those youths had been tempted by love and had stayed away from the battlefield, or that Guru Govind Singh himself had embraced Islam out of fear, would we have considered them worthy of our respect? Guru Govind Singh's family may perhaps have lived longer but would have been despised the same way as many Hindu families had been despised because they embraced Islam for similar reasons. They would have never become immortals to Hindus."*

"If we say that we are the disciples of Guru Govind Singh, then we must be prepared to suffer the separation from our beloveds for the betterment of our people, our nation, our religion. We must not budge even an inch. So, what should be our aim? Should it be to earn money by becoming a barrister or passing the Indian Civil Service (ICS) examination? Nay. Our aim must not be so low; it must be the freedom of India. We are going to England to work for that very reason and any other reasons must be secondary."

"Just like you, I also think that each time it would take at least a month to receive a reply from India to my letters. But my mind takes me back to the days of the East India Company. It used to take six months for their ships to travel from England to India via the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa and the same time for the return journey. And yet, Englishmen came to India on successive voyages. They fought with our forefathers and established their rule in India. If we want to defeat them, we must be prepared to suffer hundred times more than they did."

"There were times when our ancestors established huge colonies from Indochina to further east up to Mexico and up to Iraq in the west. They too travelled extensively on the high seas. However, after the Muslim invasions in Northern India there was a break in the seafaring adventures. But now we must dream of flying the Indian flag all over the world once again. This zeal will give us the courage to bear the individual sufferings."

"After listening to such discourse, Harnam Singh abandoned his plan to return to India from Aden. I changed his viewpoint completely. In the end he asked me, ' Tell me, what can I do for my motherland?"

[Note-In 1908, Indian students used to wear badges honouring the heroes of the 1857 war against the rule of the British in India. There were skirmishes in England between Indian students and British authorities. Harnamsingh wore such a badge. But he refused to remove the badge. He also did not apologise for wearing the badge. He therefore had to leave the Agricultural College at Cirencester. British authorities put pressure on the Maharaja of Nabha and forced him to withdraw the scholarship of Harnam. His Principal Mr John McClellan wrote to the India Office, 'It is a great pity that Harnam has not apologised and returned to the college for continuing his studies. He was about to be given a gold medal.' This just shows how much Savarkar influenced and transformed Harnam Singh.]

Mazzini (1805-1872)

At that time, I had with me an English biography of Mazzini. I do not remember the author, but probably he was Bolton King. I gave it to some to read. I had deliberately underlined the passages relating to the underground organisation (Young Italy) of Mazzini and his programme of action. Four or five of them read it.

But even today (*i.e.* 1965) they feel that their names should not be disclosed. So, let us call them Keshavanand and Mr Etiquette. I knew that they had been deeply impressed. During our discussion, I bluntly asked, "Is it not our duty to start an underground society on the lines of Young Italy for the liberation of our country?"

"Of course! That is the first thing to do." They said. "But what is the use of a few ordinary youngsters like us starting such an organisation? Persons like Lokamanya Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai or Maharaja Sayajirao of Baroda should take a lead. When they do, we should join them. Until that happens we should wait."

"Few handful of youths?" I said, "When Young Italy was started, who started it? A few unknown youths!!. Mazzini had used the same words. He said ' when we started 'Young Italy', we were only a handful of unknown youngsters. But time came when our very name struck terror in the hearts of politicians.' I further said," and how do you know that our well known leaders had not started any secret societies? You see, if a society is secret, will it broadcast its existence by advertising in newspapers? Suppose for the sake of argument that no Indian leader or Maharaja has so far come forward to start a movement for Absolute Political Independence for India. Is it not up to us to make a start? We need to do this precisely because no one is doing it."

"Suppose your mother is seriously ill and your brothers are reluctant to get help because of laziness or ignorance or fear. You know what medicine is needed. What would you do?

Would you blame the brothers? Or would you do your duty? If you wish to know what a handful but determined young men can do, we have the example of Chaphekar brothers."

"I then narrated the story of Chaphekars. During the outbreak of Bubonic Plague of 1897 in Pune, The British Administration in Bombay Province resorted to harsh, oppressive measures. People were insulted and humiliated. Women were molested. When Chaphekar brothers saw that no one would punish the arrogant British officers, they shot and killed Collector Mr Rand. They went to the gallows for that, but taught a lesson to the British who realised that their barbarity would not go unpunished. Chaphekar's deed inspired me. We can harm the British at least to the extent of our numbers, whether or not others follow us. But, in most cases, one spark ignites another spark and eventually a fire ensues."

'Are you then prepared to take an oath (pledge) of such a secret organisation?' Keshavanand asked me. "I said, "Of course."

"Then I am too ready to take the oath," said Keshavanand.

I looked at Mr Etiquette. He said, "I will let you know definitely tomorrow." I said, "Take two days if needed. After all I want your full commitment." That night Mr Etiquette called me to his room. He raised some questions. I answered them all. He said, "in that case we must start the secret society right now, but what should we name it?"

I said, "Abhinav Bharat. Keshavanand has liked the name."

"Very good." He said and called Keshavanand also to his room. I showed him the oath in English and said, "Please read this carefully, but don't get carried away by emotions. Our aims are noble but they also involve enormous sacrifices and hardships. You may decide not to join in, but if you do, you must carry the mission all your life." He read it and agreed to take the oath.

"Very well then." I rose and started to read the oath.

Keshavanand took the oath after me. Mr Etiquette followed. After testing them both for trustworthiness I told them, "You were saying earlier that we should join in a strong society once it is formed. I did not say much because I wanted to test your resolve and sincerity. But now you have taken the oath, you will be delighted to know that hundreds of youth have already taken this oath and are seeking to overthrow the British Raj. There are branches in towns and villages, schools and colleges; even government servants are our members. You agreed to the name Abhinav Bharat, that is precisely the name by which it has already been active. Now you too have become its sworn members."

"On behalf of the society I am going to England to become a Barrister. That is true, but it is only an excuse. At present highly intelligent Indians go to England and try to reach positions of authority by passing examinations like ICS, IMS or Bar-at-Law. If we persuade some of these to our side, our propaganda will spread to India. Moreover, if a revolutionary act takes place in London, it draws attention of Englishmen far more than a thousand lectures in India. Such an act will draw attention of Europeans too. They will be aware of our demands."

"Our leaders are tongue tied. The Moderates always emphasise their loyalty to the British. Even the militants say that they are loyal subjects. They do want the British Raj to continue. All that they want is reforms. This creates an impression in Europe and in America that Indians are happy to be ruled over by the British.

"We on the other hand are going to proclaim in England and Europe that it is not the question of reforms here and there, we do not want British rule at all. We want to be independent."

"Thirdly, we have heard that, in Europe, some cheap but effective instruments like hand-bombs are easily available and their use can be learnt. This is impossible in India. Many such activities are only possible in England. We also want to establish contacts with enemies of England and with their help raise a banner of revolt in India to coincide with a war in Europe. At present it is only a dream, but many times such dreams become a reality."

After such discussions I also tried to persuade some other Indians. I gave oath to one or two who sounded reliable.

A few words about the oath. I am purely writing from my memory. Such oaths were taken by hundreds of youth in many languages and the papers would have been destroyed for the sake

of secrecy. But I still remember its contents, language and spirit behind the oath.

Bande Mataram

The Oath of The Abhinav Bharat

In the name of God,

In the name of Bharat Mata,

In the name of all the Martyrs that have shed their blood for Bharat Mata,

By the Love, innate in all men and women, that I bear to the land of my birth, wherein lie the sacred ashes of my forefathers, and which is the cradle of my children,

By the tears of Hindi Mothers for their children whom the Foreigner has enslaved, imprisoned, tortured, and killed,

I, … Convinced that without Absolute Political Independence or Swarajya my country can never rise to the exalted position among the nations of the earth which is Her due,

And convinced also that Swarajya can never be attained except by the waging of a bloody and relentless war against the Foreigner,

Solemnly and sincerely Swear that I shall from this moment do everything in my power to fight for Independence and place the Lotus Crown of Swaraj on the head of my Mother;

And with this object, I join the Abhinav Bharat, the revolutionary Society of all Hindusthan, and swear that I shall ever be true and faithful to this my solemn Oath, and that I shall obey the orders of this body; If I betray the whole or any part of this solemn Oath, or if I betray this body or any other body working with a similar object, May I be doomed to the fate of a perjurer! As I said earlier, Keshavanand signed the oath as first member and later it lighted the spirit of freedom struggle in the hearts of many youth. They were knowledgeable, orators, freedom fighters and martyrs. Many, inspired by its Mantra, gave their lives for our freedom struggle.

Thus began our European branch of Abhinav Bharat. It soon became well known throughout Europe. It would have been

seditious even to become a member of our organisation. I know how difficult it was to recruit members. What questions and objections I faced. I have given above examples as an illustration. It is impossible to state all the other cases. You can get an idea from the above.

Mr. Etiquette

I will mention Keshavanad later, but now we must say good-bye to Mr Etiquette. At his own request, while I was in England, I did not entrust him with any political work. So his name did not appear in any news. But the work he did behind the scene was superb and worthy of a dedicated revolutionary. My work extended from publishing revolutionary literature and its distribution to buying of arms. Whatever funds I expected from Mr Etiquette he never said no or disappointed me. If any disturbance was expected at a public meeting he would arrange a group of ten to twenty men to protect me. So clever was the arrangement that anyone hardly noticed these men. He was well-known among Indian merchants and sent regularly to India large consignments of cloth and machinery. But he concealed my revolutionary literature and my books in them and even organised their distribution at ten to fifteen centres in Punjab. He got my articles translated into Gurumukhi and Punjabi and distributed among soldiers in Punjab. I wrote-'You ask where are the arms? But my friends, the arms in your hands are yours. Why not use them?' Such leaflets were distributed among soldiers in various military camps. British administrators in India became aware of these leaflets and that caused uproar. Some sympathetic military officers warned us and we abandoned that route in time.

British rulers were kept in the dark and Mr Etiquette was not disturbed in any way. Throughout my stay in England he drew no attention of the Police in London. When I fell badly ill and moved to Paris for convalescence in 1910 January I heard that he had returned to India. On my return to London I was arrested and sent to India to face trial. There was lot of commotion due to my trial in Bombay and many men were arrested on suspicion of being associated with me, but Mr. Etiquette was not one of them. I did not hear his name even afterwards. May be he remained safe, may be not. Whatever the case, once he took the oath of

Abhinav Bharat he never faltered and performed his functions superbly. There were many others like him, who were known only to me. They were too many to mention due to shortage of space and even today I am not in a position to disclose their names. I am sincerely grateful to them all and take this opportunity to pay homage to them.

Tranquility at Night Time

My days on the ship were thus very busy with the work of enlightening our youth, but things changed at night. I would go to the deck to enjoy fresh air and sit alone for hours. It was the first time I was seeing the might of forces of nature. What a superb sight it was! At the bottom there was vast, endless sea and over the head was vast, endless sky. Our ship was crossing the sea. It looked like an adventure of a crocodile wandering on water. It was as if we were challenging the shining stars in the sky. But then I thought-what if the nature wishes differently? It can shatter the whole world with a big bang and even the human race may be wiped out. Still it is worth admiring the adventure of man in crossing the seas.

For a week or two I would be deeply engrossed in thoughts. What is the purpose of Creation? What is going to happen in future? Is it a game of hide and seek? The ocean contains many huge snakes and crocodiles. On the land also there are similar creatures. The stronger ones eat the weaker ones and each live in fear of some one more powerful. There are volcanoes, earthquakes, comets, snow storms-are we to say that this is a game of God? Or is this an act of the Devil? And how long is this game to go on? It seems that the whole world will vanish at the will of the creator, followed by regeneration of life and the human and animal activities all over again. The creator never gets tired. And where does Man fit in all this? I would spend hours engrossed in such thoughts, recite all the philosophies that I had learned. I also composed some poems in those days.

Suez and Marseilles

Eventually our ship crossed the Red Sea and we entered the port of Suez. What I saw was wonderful. Many goods were being sold and bought. Asia, Europe and Africa meet here. It was a

unique exhibition, a gathering of humans of all colours, shapes and sizes, Africans, Chinese, Japanese were all there. And under such circumstances a working language develops in which people conduct their transactions.

From Port Suez, we came to Marseilles in France. From here, we were going to take a train to London. I was particularly interested in Marseilles. It was from here that the contingent of French Army travelled to Paris spreading the message of the great revolution of 1789. It was here that the famous French national anthem was composed by Rouget de L'Isle. The song called Marseillaise provided undeniable inspiration to the French during their battles against England, Prussia, Spain and Austria.

Marseilles had another attraction for me. My hero of Italian freedom struggle, Mazzini (1805-72), when deposed, came to Marseilles to seek refuge. He had no friends or acquaintances, no food, no shelter. Still he was undeterred and founded his secret society Young Italy. Later, Austrian authorities in Italy sentenced Mazzini to death in absentia, but it could not be carried out in France. So Mazzini stayed in Marseilles. Austrians put pressure on France and the French ordered Mazzini to leave France. He went underground and continued to stay in Marseilles. At a later day, he left Marseilles to take part in one of the uprisings in Italy. It was only then that he left Marseilles. Therefore the city was of great reverence to me.

I went to the city with a tourist guide. He showed me buildings of local importance, gardens, ancient remains etc. I asked him to show me the house where the great Italian freedom fighter once lived. He was perplexed and replied, "I know the city well, but I have never heard of Mazzini. I can make enquiries if you have any address."

I said to myself, 'after all, this man is merely making a living. How would he know the detailed history?' I suggested that he should contact a newspaper editor or a local teacher. Luckily, we came across the office of a newspaper. My guide went inside and made some enquiries. When he came out, he said-The editor says, 'we do not know the house where Mazzini of Italy once lived. Please make enquiries in Italy. Perhaps the Italians would know the place.'

I laughed and said to myself, "when Mazzini came to Marseilles some sixty or seventy years ago, hardly a single Frenchman knew him. Today hundreds of passengers from many nations are coming here. No one is bothered about me-an Indian revolutionary. Similarly, when a few Italian revolutionaries were once wandering the streets of this town the Frenchmen hardly bothered. When Mazzini founded his secret society here, the position and strength of that society was no different to our Abhinav Bharat. The French could not care less about the fate of Italy. Mazzini became famous only in later years and after he had left Marseilles. It was but natural that the French kept no record of stay or movements of Mazzini in Marseilles. In any case, Mazzini was a destitute. He had no fixed abode. How could my guide know where Mazzini lived?'

My guide took me through what I presume to be the old city. It bore striking resemblance to lanes of my hometown Nasik in India. It was surprising that both towns had streets of cobbles, firmly set in just as they were some two hundred years ago.

By the time I returned from my guided tour, it was nearly time for the train to England. I, along with other Indians, sat in our compartments and as the train started to move, I saluted the great city of Marseilles.

No one would have imagined the turmoil that was to come in just four years time. Today, no Frenchman knows me here. And yet in four year's time many Frenchmen would ask-who is this man Savarkar? The issue of Indian freedom struggle would be discussed throughout Europe. And as a coincidence, the name of Marseilles will make headlines throughout the world at least for one year. No one had the slightest idea that this will happen.

On 13 March 1910, Savarkar was arrested in London. The next day he was brought in front of Magistrate Sir A D Rutzen of Bow Street and charged under the Fugitive Offenders Act 1881. He was refused bail and later committed to High Court. Finally, the Court of Appeal decided on 17 June that Savarkar should be sent to India to stand for a trial.

Savarkar was being taken to Mumbai (Bombay) by ship to stand a trial for waging war against the King Emperor. When the ship s s Morea anchored off Marseilles in France on 8 July, Savarkar jumped through a porthole and swam ashore. Unfortunately, British police chased and caught him and with the complicity of the French policeman they took Savarkar back to the ship. His trial began in Mumbai in September 1910.

This however caused a sensation in Europe and resulted in the court case at the International Court of Justice at The Hague. The judgement was delivered on 14 February 1911. Though Savarkar was not handed back to France, this case was later referred to in international treaties, *e.g.* between Great Britain and the USA, and between France and Italy. The names Marseiiles and Savarkar were in the headlines throughout the World for at least one year.

When I Reached London

After leaving Marseilles, I did not stop to visit famous places like Paris and headed straight for London*. I left Bombay on 9 June 1906 and reached London on 2 or 3 July 1906. At the railway station, some representatives of Shyamji Krishnavarma's India House had gathered. Harnamsingh, for the sake of my company, changed his plan and came to India House with me. Other Indians went to their relevant destinations as planned.

When I arrived at India House, I did not know anybody there. When we go to foreign countries like England we have to change our habits of daily life-from answering call of nature, bathing, dining and dressing, to language and etiquettes. Many are not only different but also contrary to ours and we are reluctant or embarrassed to adopt them. If we stay in the house of Englishmen, we are treated as idiots. Luckily I did not have to stay in the house of an English family or an English boarding house. Residents in India House were fully sympathetic and friendly. I soon got acquainted with them and also with Indians living in surrounding areas. Within a week, I started my political propaganda.

In my mind I already had the outline of my propaganda. In Maharashtra, our local revolutionary organisations like 'Rashtra Samuha', 'Mitramela' were all amalgamated into one association Abhinav Bharat. The name encompassed them all and facilitated its spread all over India. My going to London made this spread

very easy. That was one of the reasons of my going to London. There, people from all provinces, businessmen and merchants, Rajas and Maharajas and a selected few hundred students, could meet. It was possible to arrange such meetings far more conveniently and with ease than was possible in India.

In a foreign country, we feel lonely and isolated. If we see a fellow countryman we suddenly feel attracted to each other. This soon develops into friendship, which crosses barriers of caste, province and status. In London, if some one organises a tea party, people of all Indian provinces, grades and prestige can participate. Back home, one would have to arrange an all India conference costing hundreds of rupees. Such gatherings were much more easier in London. Accordingly I started my meetings and spread my message of Abhinav Bharat.

However, it is appropriate to review the activities of Indians in London that took place before my arrival. We need to know what their objectives and programmes were, what was the strength of the British Empire and attitude of British people towards India. This evaluation will also illustrate my starting point.

** Note-Savarkar travelled by train from Marseilles to Paris and then Calais, crossed the English Channel by boat, arrived at Dover and then travelled by Train again to London (Charing Cross) or London (Victoria).*

Dadabhai Naoroji the Grand Old Man of Indian Politics (1825-1917)

The honour for an organised and consistent political activities, after the 1857 war, undoubtedly goes to Dadabhai Naoroji. He was born in Bombay in 1825. According to the customs of the Parsee community at that time, he was married at the age of fifteen. Noticing his progress in High School, his relatives thought of sending him to London to become a Barrister. But his mother and some other relations strongly opposed the move.

The reason being that the few Parsee boys, who were sent to England with similar intentions, had been tempted to embrace Christianity. Therefore there was strong objection in the Parsee community to sending young men abroad. Slowly Dadabhai started to take part in social reforms, and educational activities. In 1852, Bombay Presidency Association was founded in Bombay.

Dadabhai was one of the smart speakers. He said, "Under the British Government, we do not suffer any great zulum (oppression or injustice). We are comparatively happier under this kind of Government than we are likely to be under any other Government. Whatever evil we have to complain originates from one cause alone namely the ignorance of European officers coming fresh from home (*i.e.* England)." (Life of Dadabhai Naoroji by R P Masani, page 55)

Just see how ignorant Dadabhai was. When crafty Governor Generals like Dalhousie were expanding their empire in India by the most unscrupulous and hideous means, Dadabhai was praising the British Raj!!. How absurd and foolhardy but how sincere he was!!

[Note-It is astonishing that Moderate leader Motilal Nehru also believed in such propaganda. See his speech at the First Provincial Conference of U.P held at Prayag on 29 March 1906, just a few days after Vande Mataram was banned]

Dadabhai's lecture reflects thinking of a great many educated Indians at that time. In 1852, he had not taken active part in politics and did not do so until several years later. But from the time he entered politics till his death in 1917 his mental outlook had changed very little. He ended his speech in 1852 with the words, "Let us appeal to the British sense of justice and fair play and take it for granted that England would do justice when she understands."

Soon after this speech (*i.e.* in 1855) Rango Bapu, an agent of deposed Maharaja of Satara and Azimulla, an agent of Nanasaheb Peshwa, returned to India from visit to England* with plans for an armed uprising against the English in India. Dadabhai also went to England at that time, but only for commercial transactions of his business. For next ten years, he was busy with his business, but due to financial difficulties he shut it down. However, he had amassed enough wealth to settle in England with comfort. Slowly he got into politics.

Note-* It should be remembered that until 1869 the journey from Bombay to London was via Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, a voyage of more than 8,000 miles!

London Indian Society

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East India Association

The London Indian Society was mainly run by Indians and was meant for propaganda. But Dadabhai also started another association, which involved both Indians and British. The British were officers who had worked in India on fat salaries and were then enjoying hefty pensions in London. They were commonly known as Anglo-Indians. The intention was that these retired officers, presumed to be sympathetic to Indian cause would discuss what administrative reforms were needed in India and make presentations to the British Parliament and also raise questions there. Lord Livedon was its first President. Former Governors, Commissioners, M. Ps and prominent politicians soon joined this association. At first, Dadabhai was just an ordinary member, but he soon became its secretary. British Administrators were supposed to pay attention to opinions of this association. Dadabhai wanted the association to have branches in India too. He visited Bombay with that intention. He collected funds from Rajas and Maharajas for the running of this association. The money was of course spent on the Anglo-Indians.*

** John Bull-Term used to denote a typical English gentleman, in those days.*

** Anglo-Indians-This means British Officers who had served in the Indian Civil service*

Through this association, Dadabhai used to state that according to official statistics, Britain is draining away wealth from India annually to the tune of 1,500 million rupees under various headings

(at prices in 1901). And this has been going on for hundred years. As a result, India is becoming poor. The reason behind recurring famines and early deaths of people in India is this enormous financial exploitation. The ICS officers are recruited only in England. From Collectors to the Governor General, they were paid huge salaries. Their pensions are also huge and have to be paid in pound sterling causing a severe burden on India's reserves. Therefore, if the examination for the ICS is conducted in India, many Indians could pass it and, as a result, the money spent on these officers will remain in India.

Over a period of thirty years, Dadabhai delivered hundreds of lectures and wrote hundreds of articles. The more he appealed to British humanity, British generosity, British sense of fair play, instead of having the required effect, even many Anglo-Indian members of the East India Association started doubting loyalty of Dadabhai. Let us see how he used to react on such occasions. In a speech he said, "No native from one end of India to the other is more Loyal than myself to British Rule. Because I am convinced that the salvation of India, its future prosperity, civilisation, political elevation, all depend on the continuance of the British Rule in India. It is because I wish that British Rule should long continue in India and that it is good for the rulers that they should know native feelings and opinions that I come forward and speak my mind freely and boldly." (Ref-Dadabhai's Life by Masani, page 25)

But the Anglo-Indians knew that supporting Dadabhai's demands was contrary to their own interest, they opposed them. In the end, the association funded by thousands of rupees of money from India went in the hands of opponents of Dadabhai and he had to say goodbye to it.

Dadabhai Fails to get Elected in the Elections of British Parliament

As I said earlier, The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. Dadabhai took part it its formation. In his speech he said, "Our battle must be fought in the British Parliament and we must therefore educate the British Public." And he propagated this view vigorously. Encouraged by the retired ICS officers like Sir Hume, Sir Wedderburn and some Congress leaders, Dadabhai stood for election to British Parliament from the Holborn constituency in London in 1886.

He got financial support form India, but the Conservative British did not elect Dadabhai. Another leader Lal Mohan Bose also stood as a candidate for the same elections but failed to get elected. However, the second session of the Congress was to be held in Calcutta and Dadabhai was honoured by being elected as its President. In his speech he reiterated, "What is it for which we now meet? Is this Congress a nursery for sedition or rebellion against the British Government? (Cries of No! No!) Or is it another stone in the foundation of the stability of that Government? (Cries of yes! Yes!). Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone!" (Ref-Dadabhai's Life by Masani)

Dadabhai's main demand was that the examination for the ICS should be held in England and also in India so that Indians could enter in the service and rise to higher ranks. He laid emphasis on it. Some British M Ps promised to propose a suitable Bill in the British Parliament. But even in 1886, Dadabhai faced united opposition from Muslims. 'Congress is a Hindu organisation and does not represent Indian Muslims'-that was the theme of Sir Sayyad Ahmad who had founded The Patriotic Association (in India). The background information on this has already been given in my autobiography. This association and the likes of Islamia Anjuman complained -"If the examination for the ICS was to be held in India, it would benefit only Hindus. We Muslims are educationally backward and would not be able to compete. We Muslims are happy to live under British ICS officers, but NOT Hindu ICS officers." Even the Nizam supported this Muslim demand. They sent petitions and leaflets on these lines to the M Ps of British Parliament.

At heart, Dadabhai was furious at this agitation of the Muslims. He was a Parsee and not a Hindu, but was a true nationalist. He felt especially grieved to know that Mr Shahabuddin, the Muslim, whom he had always described as a Nationalist, had also joined the cries of opposition to his proposal. In a letter to Shahabuddin, dated 15 July 1887, Dadabhai wrote, "How your action has paralysed not only our own efforts, but the hands of the English

friends and how keenly I feel this, more so, because you have based your action on selfish interests that because the Moslems are backwards, you would not allow the Hindus and all India to go forward. How you have retarded our progress for a long time!" (Ref-Dadabhai's life by Masani)

But, though Dadabhai wrote this strong letter in private, he did not criticise the Muslim attitude in public. Because it was the stance of the Congress to bow to Muslims, whenever they raised their eyebrows. That is what was considered 'Nationalist' attitude by the Congressmen.

Dadabhai's New Works-Poverty and un-British Rule in India

By 1901, Dadabhai published in England an important treatise running into 500-600 pages. It consisted of his political speeches and articles so far. It was written with the intention of enlightening the British public about British rule in India, but I wonder if hardly ten in a million of them read it. Dadabhai had showed how the British were systematically looting wealth from India every year, and Indians were not given any rights to rectify the defects in administration. And though India had the benefit of British Raj, it was still suffering from famine, poverty and misery. This argument was fully supported by statistics and made any reader uneasy. It helped many Indians in their arguments and thoughts. But the title of the book was important-'Poverty and Un-British Rule in India.' meaning that such misrule and exploitation should not happen under the British Administration, as it is contrary to the British character.

British and Unbritish

From the title of Dadabhai's book, it was clear how the Indians (moderates as well as militants) used the words; 'British' to indicate divine and honourable and 'Un-British' to indicate satanical and unjust. It was just like detailing "Daivi" and "Asuri" qualities as described in Geeta, Chapter 16. Of course, the leaders implied that British meant divine. Therefore they had no objection to its perpetual rule. At times, the faults were made by British officers by mistake. Once these were removed, India would get rid of poverty, famine and desolation. The only exception was that of the revolutionaries who rejected this argument.

British Liberals and Conservatives

Indians had the same misconceptions about the difference between Liberal and Conservative politicians and the Liberals benefited financially from it. In my autobiography I have distinguished between 'autocratic' and, 'crafty and shrewd' administrators.

The Conservatives were 'autocratic' while the liberals were 'crafty and shrewd'. Both were British imperialists. Conservatives like Lord Salisbury had openly said, "The liberals preach that under the British Empire, the British and Indians have equal rights, that is a political hypocrisy. "Conservative papers like The Times openly wrote, "The Queen's declaration of 1858* simply states that we will treat all the citizens of British Empire equally so far as it may be possible.

Indian leaders conveniently forget the proviso 'so far as it may be possible'. To be frank, we the British are the rulers, you Indians are our subjects. That is the reality of our relationship. We don't care whether you are loyal to us or not. We won over you, by force of arms, and would rule by force."

That was the stark reality, but it was unpalatable and frightening. So, the Indian leaders assumed that the Conservatives were Un-British and went on to please the Liberals whom they regarded as real British.

Moreover, Mr Morley had published books praising freedom, equality and justice. British veterans of the Congress also belonged to the liberal wing. And how promising was their name-Liberal! Indian leaders were under the illusion that whenever the true British like Mr Morley and their liberal party would win elections in Britain we would enjoy equal rights as ordained in the Queen's declaration of 1858.*

** Queen's declaration of 1858.-After the break out of 1857 war in India against the rule of the (English) East India Company, Queen Victoria made a Declaration to pacify public opinion in India (published in Calcutta Gazette on 1 November 1858). Once, she had refused to listen to the grievances of Rajas and Maharajas whose states were annexed by Dulhousie, on the grounds that she could not interfere in the affairs of East India Company. Now she was compelled to take over the entire administration of India from the hands of the East India Company.*

Dadabhai enters British Parliament (1893)

And suddenly what a surprise! As if it was a divine blessing, in 1893 the Liberals came to power in England and more surprisingly even Dadabhai was elected as an M P from Finsbury constituency in London. Lord Salisbury, the conservative leader strongly campaigned against Dadabhai and had said, "Don't vote for that Blackman. Liberals like Gladstone said that the British voters should vote for Dadabhai. Indians realising the importance of the election spent large amount of money. Dadabhai was formerly Divan (Chief Minister) of Baroda state where Malharrao Gaikawad was the Maharaja. Acknowledging this relationship, the then Maharaja Sayajirao helped in all possible ways and also gave his set of horse carts for the use of Dadabhai. Eventually he won, though by a small margin.

The news created wild excitement in India as if a major war was won. There were processions, and public meetings of rejoicing. To some extent that was natural. Many were under the impression that Indians were incapable of running public administration; there was no doubt about it. How can we run a democratic and 'up to date' state? That gloomy attitude was set aside by Dadabhai's victory. If the British voters are confident that Dadabhai has the ability to be elected to be their representative in their Parliament, then our leaders like Surendranath Banerjee and others also must have the same ability. This was the confidence that waved across the whole of India. It was good so far.

Wave of Loyalty to the British

But there was other side of the story. There were a large number of Indians who were proud to be 'loyal citizens' and their hopes were unduly raised. They kept on prophesying that today we have one M. P, tomorrow there may be ten or even twenty. And when this happens the English M. Ps will listen to our men who had become British M. Ps and eventually the administrative reforms that we have been clamouring for, will take place. (they did not want anything more). But we must never abandon the Liberal party.

The Conservatives were no less crafty. They too supported the candidature of Mr Bhavanagri, a Parsee who had opposed many

policies of the Congress. He too got elected as an M.P in the British parliament. This of course severely jolted the liberals. But the Congress leaders behaved as if the election of Mr Bhavanagri did not count. They kept on saying that Dadabhai was the only Indian who had become an M.P in the British parliament.

An Ineffective/empty Gesture

In practice, the election of Dadabhai was only a subtle tactic by the Liberal party. It was an empty gesture, merely a delaying ploy. And yet our Indian leaders got carried away so much.

The Irish Example

Dadabhai had in front of him the example of Irish M. Ps who realised that they could not achieve much through British Parliament. Moreover, the Irish were White, Europeans. Britain had granted them right to send their own representatives to House of Commons. The elections were held on the basis of fighting for demands of the Irish people. Despite all this, they could not achieve any reforms beneficial to them. Their leaders like Parnell got exhausted. In the end most Irish M. Ps boycotted the British Parliament. They abandoned the right to send their representatives to British Parliament. Many turned to the Irish Home Rule Movement or Sinn Fein. Many went underground to carry out revolutionary activities. These events were unfolding in front of eyes of members of the Indian Congress Party. It is said that one should be wiser from affairs of others. But what can you do if someone does not wish to wake up at all.

[Note-Ireland was forced to become part of United Kingdom by the Act of Union of 1800. In the U.K. parliament in London, Ireland was allocated 100 seats out of 660 seats. But Catholics, who were in majority in Ireland, were given right to become M. Ps only in 1829. Irish Protestants, who were descendents of Scottish Protestant settlers, of course did not want independence for Ireland.]

Personality of Dadabhai

Of course, this does not in any way affect the greatness of Dadabhai. His efforts were continuous. He had a strong personality, which resulted in his election victory. In the Parliament too he

behaved at par with the British Ministers. He was enthusiastic about his idea of the Parliamentary Front. But soon he realised that whenever he put forward any proposals of administrative reforms in India, Liberals M. Ps shied away. There was Liberal Government in power. Years went by. But Dadabhai could not stop any wealth being looted regularly by the British. He could not get any Indians appointed to high posts in India. His only success was getting his demand that the ICS examination should be held in India and England, accepted and passed in the British Parliament. Even that was declared 'impracticable' by the Executive officers of the Administration in India. Had this happened elsewhere the entire administration would have been sacked for contempt of Parliament. Dadabhai thus returned empty handed when the term of the Liberal government was completed.

Dadabha unkowingly Paid Tribute to Indian Revolutionaries

Faced with failures after failures in his attempts, Dadabhai became angry and even started to threaten the British. He once said, "Do not invite a catastrophe by being too obdurate. The Government should recollect how such obdurate conduct on the part of the British Government led to 1857." But did he realise what he was saying? Suppose the Great War of 1857 had not taken place, with what would have Dadabhai and others threatened the British Government? So, even their Parliamentary Front movement needed support of the revolutionaries.

British Committee of the Indian National Congress

In around 1888, the Indian National Congress had established a committee in London. The purpose was to spread knowledge in Britain about aims, resolutions and loyalty of the Congress. It also published a paper entitled 'India'. Dadabhai was a member of this committee also. But the real activists were again persons like Sir Hume, Wedderburn and others who were also pioneers of the Congress. Thousands of rupees were raised in India for the running of this committee.

In addition, the editor, supplier and servants were all British. Their expenses too were born by Indian supporters. Though this committee considered it to be London representative of Indian

political opinion, it was never awarded that status by the British Government who did not acknowledge receipts of various resolutions and petitions sent by this committee. At times, commissions like the Welby Commission (1897) were appointed to inquire into administration of India, at the insistence of likes of Dadabhai. The British Committee would invite Indian leaders such as Surendranath Banerjee, Wacha or Gokhale to testify in front of such commissions and also to enlighten the British about the true state of affairs in India. The British Committee would also arrange public lectures by such leaders. Despite such efforts however, most British papers did not publish any news about the activities of the British Committee or about any resolutions passed in India. The committee even purchased some shares in a paper so that it will give publicity to its activities. At times it paid the papers to publish its activities. But even then, would the readers be interested in reading news about India? Hardly ten in a million bothered.

Then Came 1897

In 1897, Queen Victoria completed 60 years of her reign. There were plans for great celebrations throughout the British Empire. The British Committee invited a deputation of leaders from India and arranged their lectures in British Towns and Cities. To conclude these lectures, a Conference of Indians in Britain was held under the auspices of Dadabhai, Wacha and Gokhale. The following resolution was passed unanimously:

> *"Unless the present unrighteous, un-British system of Government is reformed into a truly righteous and truly British system, destruction of India and disaster to the British Empire are inevitable….. We Indians believe that our highest patriotism and best interests demand the continuance of the British Rule." (Ref-Dadabhai's life by Masani, p396)*

The British people did not pay the slightest attention to this resolution. They were busy celebrating the Jubilee.

But in a Far away Place called Pune?

On the day of Jubilee, *i.e.* 22 June 1897, Chaphekar brothers shot and killed Mr Rand and Lt Ayhurst to avenge the atrocities

of the British during the outbreak of bubonic plague in Pune. And all of a sudden it made headlines in British papers. The editors started asking question-who was responsible for this deed? Who is this Chaphekar? His shot resembles the outburst of Mangal Pandey of 1857!

In India, especially in Bombay Province, British officers were furious. I remember the situation described in a song of 'Sanmitra Samaj', which was sung at public functions:

There were arrests of public figures like Tilak, Natu and others. People used to say:

First the Poonaite, then Brahmin and Kokanastha at that.

One of them killed a White man.

Arrest someone of them.

Resolutions of the Congress and Sparks of Revolutionaries

The purpose of this chapter is only to review the movements of Indians in Britain until I reached London in 1906. In that context only, I have mentioned killing of Mr Rand and Lt Ayhurst by Chaphekar brothers. But even that event illustrated that it was the activities of revolutionaries that drew the attention of the British public rather than the resolutions of the Congress. Conservative papers naturally justified the mass arrests in Bombay Province after the Chaphekar episode. But even the liberal papers wrote series of articles on India and claimed that the rebellion must be crushed. It was even strange that the Loyal members of the Indian Congress were also labelled-disloyal and responsible for the rebellion!!

Mr. Hyndman

There was only one exception who gave a fitting reply to the comments in British Newspapers at that time. He was not one of the leaders of the Congress Party, but editor of The Justice paper, Mr Hyndman. As usual he said that he condemned the action of Chaphekar but then retorted, "You say the rebellious tendency is on the increase in India. But you have imposed harsh rule over India. If the Indians are now prepared to overthrow your tyrannical rule by armed revolution, it is not a great surprise. The astonishing

thing is that, that revolution did not take place before." Mr Hyndman was a leader of the new political party-Social Democrats. Its leaders were British. Their main aim was opposition to the British Empire. And because of this basic stand, the Liberals were naturally against them, but even the newly founded Labour Party also kept aloof and called them 'Extreme Socialists.' The reason being that the Social Democrats were propagating dissolution of the British Empire for the benefit of the British workers. The Labour Party did not support this theory. The enormous wealth being looted by the British rulers benefited not only the middle class but also the working class, *e.g.* soldiers, naval ratings, workers in factories. And therefore the British people fully supported the British Raj. The Social Democrats therefore had very little support in England. However, the personality of

Hyndman had its impression on public life. Social Democrats were more active in Europe. Mr Hyndman was respected as a European leader. He criticised the British Administration so severely that though Indian leaders liked it at heart, they were afraid of supporting him in public.

Dadabhai sincerely loved Mr Hyndman. They were good friends. In his public meetings Dadabhai arranged for speeches by Mr Hyndman. Once at a public meeting Mr Gokhale shared the same platform as Mr Hyndman. British members of the British Committee of Congress party, like Wedderburn reprimanded Dadabhai and Gokhale. On the other hand Hyndman criticised the Indian leaders for being under the thumbs of British Liberals. Angered by criticism of British Administration in India at the time of Chaphekar episode, British Liberals took Dadabhai and Gokhale to task. With the hope of becoming a candidate for the Liberal party in the forthcoming elections and possibility of its support in election campaign, Dadabhai broke his relation with Mr Hyndman. He wrote:

"I remain of the same view that after reading your article in 'Justice' I cannot any more work with you and the Social Democratic Federation on Indian matters. My desire and aim have been not to encourage a rebellion but to prevent it and to make the British connection with India a blessing to both. Unfortunately it is not the case as yet in so far as India is

concerned but it is owing to evil system of Government by the executive authority in spite of the wishes of the sovereign, the people and the parliament of England to govern righteously."

At the same time, Mr Gokhale withdrew his statements about atrocities committed by British soldiers in Pune during the outbreak of the plague, which resulted in the Chaphekar episode. He apologised without reservation to Lord Sandhurst, the Governor of Bombay province.

By the time I reached London, London Indian Society, East India Association and the British Committee of the Indian National Congress were the main instruments of political activities in London. I have reviewed their work. But just 1 ½ years before my arrival in London, yet another movement was taking place and would soon replace the above three as main sources of Indian political activity. It was Indian Home Rule Society of Shyamji Krishnavarma. It is time I introduced him.

Shyamji Krishnavarma (1857-1930)

In 1950, Shyamji's biography in English by Indulal Yadnik was published. It has been thoroughly researched and written. One should really read it to understand Shyamji's work. I am briefly giving the following information:

On 4 October 1857, Shyamji Krishnavarma was born in Mandavi in the state of Cutch (Gujarat). He was born in Bhansali community. By the age of ten, he lost both of his parents. With the help of his relatives he came to Bombay for his education. At the same time his relatives wanted him to learn Sanskrit in the traditional way in a Pathashala. He soon became proficient in Sanskrit. He had to leave his education before passing Matriculation examination. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, Founder of Arya Samaj came to Bombay and was impressed by Shyamji's command of Sanskrit. Shyamji soon became a member of Arya Samaj.

In 1875, Shyamji was married to Bhanumati, daughter of a rich person, Sheth Chhabildas Lallubhai. In 1877, Shyamji visited the cities of Nasik, Poona, Karnavati, Kashi and Lahore to deliver his lectures in Sanskrit. He was given presentations by various scholars. In Poona, he was commanded by Prof. Kunte, Mr Joshi,

secretary of Sarvajanik Sabha, Krishnashastri Chiplunkar, Prof. Kathawate and Justice M G Ranade. Raobahaddur Gopal Krishna Deshmukh had developed a liking for Shyamji.

In 1876, Prof. Monier Williams of Oxford University came to Bombay and was looking for an assistant to work in Oxford, who was proficient in English and had learnt Sanskrit in traditional way. Shyamji was just such a man. Swami Dayanand was pleased with the prospect of Shyamji going to England. But he insisted that he should learn Vedas first from Swamji. Shyamji was more interested in going to England than devoting to the work of Arya Samaj. Swamji was displeased. But Shyamji went to Oxford just as an ordinary Indian.

In the meantime, though Prof. Moiner had agreed to take Shaymji with him to Oxford, he suddenly departed to England as arrangements for Shyamji could not be made in time. But Shyamji was determined to go to England. He borrowed money from his in-laws. In March 1879, he left Bombay for London. He registered for B.A degree with Balliol College, Oxford. He continued to impress British professors with his command of Sanskrit. He had also learnt Greek and Latin. Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay recommended that Maharaja of Kutch should offer a scholarship to Shyamji. This was granted. In 1881, Shyamji delivered a lecture at the Royal Asiatic Society of London. He emphasised that the art of writing was known in the Vedic times. For this paper he was elected a Member of the Society.

In the same year he was honoured to be sent as India's representative for the fifth Oriental Congress in Berlin by Marquis of Harlington, the then Secretary of State for India. Shyamji emphasised there that Sanskrit was not a dead language like Latin but a live one. In 1883, he was again sent as India's representative to the Oriental Conference in London, by the Earl of Kimberley, the then Secretary of State for India.

With such high level contacts Shyamji became a member of the prestigious Empire Club. Its members included former Governors, Governor Generals, and Commanders in Chief.

In 1883, Shyamji obtained his B.A degree from Oxford University. Some say that he was the first Indian to graduate from

Oxford. He had letters of recommendations from Prof. Maxmuller, Prof. Morrison, Dr Jawet and former Viceroy Lord Northbrook. The last one stated-He (Shyamji) is eminently qualified for a high post in Government Service. That is exactly what Shyamji wanted.

He had also had some correspondence with British Prime Minister Gladstone. His letter dated 11 April 1883 is an indication of his intention. Shyamji wrote to Gladstone, "You have appointed Lord Rippon as Viceroy of India and I have received many letters commending your choice for this appointment."

It seems that Shyamji was also in touch with Dadabhai Naoroji, but did not take part in his political activities. Shyamji became a Barrister in January 1885 and returned to India permanently.

On reaching India, Shyamji was highly recommended for a high administrative post by Gopal Krishna Deshmukh and along with similar recommendations from high British Officials he soon obtained the post of Divan (Chief Minister) of state of Ratlam. He soon impressed the Maharaja and the Political Agent with his work. When he left his post due to ill health Maharaja offered him a sum of 32,000 Rupees in gratitude.

Shyamji then started his practice as a Barrister in Ajmer. He invested money in stocks and shares of Mills to ensure regular income. But apart from money Shyamji wanted high post of administration. He was making efforts to secure such a post. He got elected to Ajmer Council and took advantage to further his business career.

After four years in Ajmer, he was offered the post of Divan of Udaipur in December 1892. He pleased the Maharaja with his work. It needs to be emphasised that he did not take part in any political, educational, or religious reform movements. He just maintained his status. However, he did not affect the reputation of Udaipur in any way. He laid sound foundation for economy of the state. He was praised by the British Political Agent as a good administrator. As an individual he proved to be a great person.

After serving the Maharaja of Udaipur for two to two and a half years he was offered the post of Divan of Junagad state. Financially that post was very attractive. Maharaja of Udaipur agreed to Shyamji leaving his state and said that Shyamji could

come back as a Divan any time. In 1895, Shyamji accepted the post of Divan in Junagad. But soon he realised that there were some dubious affairs going on. Either he had to acquiesce to these or leave to maintain his own standards. However, there was no religious conflict. There were Hindus and Muslims on both sides. The real reason was selfishness. Worst was the fact that an Englishman named Mackonacki, whom Shyamji had done favour in getting a job for him in the state, had started the intrigue. They were both studying in Oxford at one time. Shyamji wanted someone to support him in the state. However, he soon became Shyamji's opponent and poisoned the mind of the British Political Agent and the Nawab. So much so that within a matter of eight months the Nawab asked Shyamji to leave his state for his misbehaviour. He was dismissed from the post of Divan. No specific charges were made.

Shyamji was stunned. He had no option but leave the state. However he told his opponents, "Be warned. I know many British officers from the level of Resident to Viceroy and even the Secretary of State for India. This is not the dark ages. This is British Raj-based on rule of law and justice. If the Nawab insists, he may lose his own throne. "Shyamji demanded forty thousand rupees as compensation from the Nawab. He refused. Shyamji took his case to the Political Agent, but he took the side of Mr Mackonacki. Shyamji then appealed to all the British officers right up to Secretary of State for India. But no one raised a finger against the decision of the political agent. Shyamji decided to wager one by one all the commendations he had received in the past, to see if this would influence the British authorities to his point of view, but of no avail.

In September 1895, after being driven out of Junagad, Shyamji went back to Maharaja of Udaipur who was glad to accept Shyamji as his Divan, as promised before. But the appointment needed the approval of Political Agent who happened to be Curzon Wyllie. We will meet Wyllie again later in the episode of Madanlal Dhingra. Wyllie wrote to Shyamji, "You were dismissed from the state of Junagad for bad character and as long as you cannot prove to be of good character, I cannot agree to you becoming the Divan in Udaipur again." Trapped on all sides, Shyamji now realised that

the British were all the same and would support each other. That was the truth, which Shyamji had not come to accept before. It was miss-belief that the British Raj was not in dark ages. After the bitter personal experience, his confidence in the British character was shattered.

Shyamji did not know whom to turn. Someone should put forward all the facts in front of the public and seek redress. Times of India had justified the action of the Nawab of Junagad. There was just one person left-Tilak. He was well known to be a fighter for justice for people. This was evident in the old case of an adopted son of Maharaja of Kolhapur (1882) and recent case of Mr Bapat in the state of Baroda. Shyamji thought that Tilak might help him in exposing injustice done to him. It seems that either he met Tilak before going to Junagad or had some correspondence with him. He was in the habit of keeping in touch with such persons of importance and getting their commendations. It seems that he wrote a letter to Tilak in 1896 seeking redress. Tilak replied, "Please send important documents relating to your case." Shyamji had obliged.

There is another letter in January 1896. Tilak asked, "A Brahmin youth wishes to get military training. Is it possible for you to use your influence and get him recruited to army of the state?"

Shyamji had come back to Udaipur as Divan.* It is not clear if Shyamji obliged. It seems that he did not. One can presume that this youth was Chaphekar. Shyamji had established contact with Tilak for purely personal cause. He was not interested in taking part in any political or public activities of Tilak.

Shyamji Suddenly Moves to England (1897)

But the whole country was shattered by the killing of Mr Rand and Lt Ayhurst in 1897. Tilak was arrested and later charged with sedition. Natu brothers of Poona were detained without trial and charge. For many days people did not know where they were kept. Shyamji got worried. He had already become unpopular with the British Administrators. He had no faith left in their justice system.

True, he had not taken part in any political activity of Tilak but had some correspondence with him for his help in his personal

injustice. He got worried that if Tilak's house was searched, their correspondence would come to light and the British would not hesitate in detaining him without charge. Instead of waiting for any action by the authorities he decided to leave India and move to England, which was a safer place as far as Law was concerned. So he suddenly resigned as Divan of Udaipur state and moved to England with his wife.

Move Made but not for Active Politics

The real reason behind Shyamji's move to London has been given above. Some believe that he wanted to devote the remainder of his life to politics and become a fiercer fighter than Tilak in the free atmosphere of England. There is no reason to believe in that assumption. When I got acquainted with Shyamji and raised the question of his sudden departure to London, he never pretended that he wanted to devote entirely to the service of India.

In 1905, Shyamji started his paper named The Indian Sociologist. In its July 1907 issue he explained. "It is folly for a man to allow himself to be arrested by an unsympathetic government and thus be deprived of action when by anticipating matters he can avoid such results. Just ten years ago when our friend Mr Tilak and the Natu brothers were arrested, we decided to leave India and settle in England." Even after his arrival in England, Shyamji did not take part in any political or social activity directly or indirectly for eight years.

Shyamji's Transformation

However, after coming to London, Shyamji started to develop his ideas. He had earned enough money to live like a rich person and also invested in stocks and shares in England and France. So, financially he was independent. He was not therefore afraid of the Anglo-Indians. He felt relatively safer in England as it respected personal liberty and there was rule of law.

In his young age, he was a disciple of Swami Dayanand Saraswati. So some seeds of independent thinking were sown then which now started to show fruits. He was greatly influenced by the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. Spencer had severely criticised the economic exploitation of India by Britain. The criticism

was fully justified and supported by evidence. Sometimes minor or trivial events transform lives of many great persons. Surendranath Banerjee was forced to resign from the ICS for a minor reason. But as the result, his personal ambition changed and he devoted his life for the betterment of fellow Indians. In 1879, Vasudev Balwant Phadake was denied leave even to attend the cremation of his mother and that transformed his attitude and he resolved to overthrow the British Raj. This has happened in cases of Saints also. They faced some personal difficulties and as the result they turned to God and changed their frame of mind. Shyamji had been shattered with his experience in Junagad. His loyalty to the British took a severe shake up and he saw light.

Shyamji was disgusted with the British Administration and therefore he did not join British Committee of the Indian National Congress or the London Indian Society, both were started by Dadabhai. He started to propagate his views to Indian leaders, his friends and especially Indian students. Slowly a group was being formed and by 1902 they had their own ideas of how to liberate India from the yoke of the British.

Death of Herbert Spencer (1903)

All of a sudden, in December 1903, the British philosopher Herbert Spencer died. He was affectionately called Harbhat Pendse in Maharashtra. Many of his works were translated into Marathi. Young leaders like Tilak and Agarkar were greatly influenced by his philosophy. In my school days I read all the Marathi translations of his works. And at a later date, I studied all his works with deep interest. Shyamji was deeply devoted to Spencer and was present at his funeral in London. Shyamji made a small speech and as a token of his gratitude, he declared a donation of 1,000 pounds (some 15,000 rupees in those days). This was accepted by Oxford University and through this fund they used to arrange lectures annually on the philosophy of Spencer by well-known scholars. British people were much impressed by generosity of Shyamji and he became well-known overnight.

First Political act of Shyamji

On 8 December 1904, fell the first anniversary of death of Spencer. On that occasion Shyamji declared his intention to award

'Herbert Spencer Travelling Fellowship' of Rs 2,000 each to five graduates from India. There were two conditions: The first one being -. The recipient should study in England, which will allow him to follow his chosen profession.

We will discuss the second condition very soon. One of the fellowships was to be given in the name of Swami Dayanand. Shyamji wanted to emphasise the importance of these fellowships through the Indian National Congress. It was going to hold its annual session in December in Bombay.

Shyamji therefore wrote a detailed letter to Sir Wedderburn outlining his plan and pleaded that his letter should be read in the session of Congress. It read, "Details of my fellowships will be published later. But one condition must be specifically stated. Namely that on return to India the recipient must never accept service of any kind under the British Administration in India as it is unjust and uncontrolled. The recipient therefore must maintain his independent standing in the society. Socrates has said, "One, who has to oppose honestly acts of uncontrolled and unjust repressive regime and fight for truth, must maintain his independence."

"Indians must show respect for Herbert Spencer. For many years he had condemned the British Raj, which uses Native Indian troops to enslave Indians, to impose heavy taxes on essentials like salt, and to impose heavy taxes on poor people. He had shown quite clearly that the English have conquered India for England's own benefit. He further maintained that if the Indians were to overthrow the yoke of British Raj, they could not be blamed in any way. Every Indian should cherish memories of such a person."

It was obvious that such a letter was not going to be read at the annual session of the Congress. Veterans like Sir Hume, Wedderburn and Cotton were from the class of exploiters. Congress was maintaining that more and more posts, services, and positions under the British Raj should be accepted by Indians. There was no way Shyamji's letter would be read at such a Congress. They have been maintaining that the British Raj was meant for the benefit of Indians. How could they support overthrow of the same?

The letter was thrown in waste paper basket. Later, when Shyamji insisted on a reply, Mr Wedderburn wrote, "The second paragraph (of your letter) contained such a severe denunciation of the Indian Government that it seemed inexpedient for me to read that part publicly in the Congress, considering how important it is for the congress to maintain its character for loyalty and moderation."

The Paper Indian Sociologist

Thus, Shyamji did not succeed in propagating his views through the Indian National Congress and felt the need for starting an independent publication of his own for propagating his views. Accordingly, on 1 January 1905, he started his monthly paper The Indian Sociologist. Its objective was clearly stated on the front page-An Organ of Freedom and of political, social and religious reform. Thus the intention was not just political, but also all round progress of the Indian society. It was not a magazine. It merely reflected views of Shyamji. But it was far more forthcoming and effective for a number of years to come. More about it later.

On the very first issue, words of Herbert Spencer were printed-Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both altruism and egoism. One has to add however that Shyamji was not proposing an armed revolution or complete independence. His thoughts had not advanced that far. He wrote, "Considering the political connection between India and Britain, time has come for someone in England to state the true position of Indians in India to the British public. Until now Indians had not stated their sufferings, sorrows, demands and expectations in front of the British people. We therefore wish to carry out that function. It will be our duty and privilege to plead the cause of India before the Bar of Public opinion in Great Britain and Ireland."

Thus, indirectly, Shyamji had been suggesting that The London Indian Society, The British Committee of the Indian National Congress and its publication 'India' were not representative of Indian masses, because they were controlled by the Anglo-Indians like Sir Hume and therefore did not reflect Indian opinion. The Indian Sociologist, on the other hand was free from such influence

and therefore the true mouthpiece of Indians. The astonishing thing was that if the British Committee of the Indian National Congress was not a true representative of Indians, as it was guided by retired British ICS officers, should not, by the same token, we regard the Indian National Congress also as not representing Indians, as it was under the influence of the same retired British ICS officers? After all they insisted on making it a 'Loyal' organisation. It was surprising that Shyamji did not appreciate this line of thinking and assured his readers that he would support the aims and policies of the Congress Party.

We must also remember that as explained above, Shyamji conferred on the British people the honour of becoming Judges to the sad plight of Indians!! As if the only thing that was remaining was for a true representative of Indians to explain sufferings of the Indian people to the British people. And then by a magic wand the British people were going to remove all the injustices in India!! One can say that at start Shyamji was not determined enough or clear in his mind and thoughts. But he was rapidly getting away from being a 'Loyal to British crown subject' to becoming an anti-British person.

Founding of the Indian Home Rule Society

Shyamji was disgusted with 'Loyalty to the British Crown' attitude of Congress leaders. For a number of years the Irish were demanding Home Rule for Ireland. It was natural that Shyamji should be interested in a similar movement for India. Of course, such a demand or agitation was risky and dangerous at that time. Congress leaders wished to remain aloof from Irish Home Rule movement as it was openly seen to be not loyal to the British crown (and loyalty to the British Crown was the cardinal principle of Indian Moderates). But Shyamji had no such inhibition. He established contacts with the Irish Home Rule agitators. And taking a cue from them, he suggested that unlike the Congress leaders, we should not merely demand administrative reforms but go further and say-hand over the administration of India to us. Give us 'Home Rule'. Shyamji felt the need of a new political party for achieving this aim. One must admit that this thinking was many paces ahead of the aims of the Congress. But it was still short of 'complete independence.' May be, Shyamji was not

that advanced in his thoughts. Moreover there were legal constraints in England. However, the demand for home rule for India was perfectly legal in England.

On 18 February 1905, Shyamji invited about twenty selected Indians to his house (now 60 Muswell Hill Road, London N 10) to start Indian Home Rule Society. The invitees included, Barrister Rana, Dr C Muthew, Barrister Parekh, J C Mukherjee, M R Jayakar and Suhravardi.

The reason put forward for starting this new society was this- The associations in England, which are meant for advancement of people in India, are under the influence of former British bureaucrats and therefore an independent association run entirely by Indians has become necessary. Our aim is-Government for the people, of the people and by the people in India. It is 'natural right' of all Indians and it has become necessary to establish an association in England for this purpose. We will strive to achieve our goal of Home Rule for India by all practical means. We will propagate our views throughout Britain and Ireland. We will make efforts to impress on the minds of Indians the benefits of our movement, namely unity and freedom.

Having established the aims and objectives and set a programme, an executive committee was chosen.

President-Shyamji.

Vice President-Barrister Rana.

Members of the Committee-Godrej and Surhavardi.

Secretary-Mr J C Mukharjee.

Establishment of India House

Shyamji decided to further the cause of Home Rule. He therefore started a hostel for Indian students, visitors and leaders. He purchased a big corner house in the Highgate area of London (now 65 Cromwell Avenue, London N6). This area was the healthiest in Great Britain and Ireland. It was named India House. Tram, Underground and Bus connections were conveniently at hand. There were huge parks nearby-Waterloo Park, Highgate Woods and Queen's Woods. In the back garden of the house was a large area for taking exercises or playing games like Tennis.

There was accommodation for 25 people. In the basement, there was a library and enough room for reading, and arranging lectures. Administration was kept in the hands of Indians. Drinking was forbidden. Rest of the routine was on the lines of Ruskin Institute of Oxford. Those who were offered scholarships by Shyamji, had to pay 16 shillings a week for board and lodge. Others had to pay bit more. The inauguration took place on 1 July 1905. The ceremony was attended by some British and Irish gentlemen who sincerely wished well for the cause of Indian emancipation. This included leader of Social Democratic Party Mr Hyndman, Mr Sweeny of the Positivist Society, Editor of Justice paper Mr Swelch and some members of Irish Home Rule movement. Among Indian leaders present were, Dadabhai Naoroji, Lala Lajpat Rai and Madam Cama. Some Indian students were also present. After introduction by Shyamji, Mr Hyndman did the inauguration. His speech was strong not only for moderates like Dadabhai but even for Shyamji. He said: *Loyalty to British means disloyalty to India*

> *"As things stand, loyalty to Great Britain means treachery to India. I have met many Indians and the loyalty to British Rule, which the majority have professed, has been disgusting. Either they were insincere or they were ignorant. But, of late, I rejoice to see that a new spirit has been manifested. Thus there are men and women here this afternoon from different provinces of India and of different schools of thought, but the ideal; namely, the final emancipation is the same with all."*
>
> *"Indians have until now hugged their chains. From England itself there is nothing to be hoped."*
>
> *"It is the immoderate men, the determined men, the fanatical men who will work out the salvation of India by herself. The institution of this India House is a great step in that direction of Indian growth and Indian emancipation."*
>
> *"Some of those who are here this afternoon may live to see the first fruit of its triumphant success."*

But What is Your Programme?

Shyamji caused a sensation in the political circles in England, because of his Home Rule movement. Indian militants welcomed it. Indian Moderates ignored it. But Anglo-Indian papers like The

Pioneer (of Prayag) and their societies were furious and warned, "If anyone dared demand Home Rule in India and make violent speeches like the one by Mr Hyndman and wrote articles with the same intention, he would have been sent to the gallows or sent to transportation. Therefore the coward editor of 'Indian Sociologist' ran away to England and is spreading sedition among Indians by taking advantage of the liberal atmosphere there. Those demanding Home Rule should remember that they have to face the military might of the British. Do they want to spill blood? If not how are they going to achieve their object?"

Moderates also used similar but milder language and asked, "It is easy to say that our methods of petitions and presentations are useless, but apart from those what means have you got? It is easy to demand Home Rule. One can even demand heaven. But apart from outrageous words, what is your programme?" This question was also in the minds of supporters of Shyamji. It was essential that a fitting reply was given. He did not have to go far. He had in front of him

Sinn Fein who had declared a programme of Passive Resistance. Shyamji based his programme on similar lines and within a period of three months he produced a document. It was published in the October 1905 issue of The Indian Sociologist.

"Now, in order to put an end to the pernicious system of the government of one country by another, such as obtains in the case of India, there seem to be only three ways in which this can be accomplished, namely,

(1) The voluntary withdrawal of English occupation.

(2) A successful effort on the part of Indians to throw off the foreign yoke.

(3) The disinterested intervention of some Foreign power in favour of India.

The last expedient is obviously out of the question in the present political and moral condition of the world.

"As to the second expedient, Mr Meredith Townsend in his work 'Asia and Europe' asks 'Will England retain India?' Although he haughtily believes that 'the British dominion over the great peninsula of Asia is a benefit to mankind!' he holds that 'the empire which came in a day will disappear in a night.' In his opinion it is not necessary for Indians to resort to arms for compelling England to relinquish its hold on India. He neatly expressed himself and enforces his argument in the following words:

> *"There are no white servants, and even grooms, no white postman, the Empire would collapse like a house of cards, and every ruling man would be starving prisoner in his own house. He would not move or feed himself or get water."*
>
> *"If anyone refuses to buy or sell any commodity, or to have any transactions with any class of people, he commits no crime known to law. It is therefore plain that Indians can obtain emancipation by simply refusing to help their foreign master without incurring the evils of a violent revolution."*

Commenting on above article of Shyamji, Pioneer the Anglo-Indian paper (of Prayag) said, "In reality, Shyamji is sponsoring an armed revolution." Shyamji replied, "We have never advocated the use of Force as a part of our political programme! We are thoroughly convinced that the existence of the feeling of common nationality creating a notion that it was shameful to assist the foreigner in maintaining his dominion-to quote Professor Sir J R Seeley-is the best remedy for the existing evils, and that Indians have no need to take up arms in order to free their country from the present foreign domination." Furthering his idea of Passive Resistance, Shyamji proposed,

(a) No Indian should invest money in Government stocks.

(b) India should denounce the public debt imposed by British administration.

(c) Indians should boycott civil and military services.

(d) Indians should boycott Government sponsored schools and colleges as they invariably produce 'Loyal' students.

(e) Indian Barristers, Solicitors and Lawyers should boycott British courts and set up Civil courts to settle their differences.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the political movements run by Indians in London until I arrived there. Therefore I stated that Shyamji sponsored the idea of Home Rule for India and that

Passive Resistance as the weapon for achieving the same. But it has to be stated that it was Bipinchandra Pal who proposed these measures first.

Bipinchandra Pal (1858-1932) Put Forward above Programme First

There was great anger in India after Lord Curzon arrogantly proposed partition of Bengal in 1903. 'Loyalty' to the British of Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipinchandra Pal was burnt to ashes. Bipinchandra Pal had even been to England to study the possibility of approaching the British public to seek redress and also to follow the Parliamentary Front*. He had realised that begging bowl attitude of the Congress was bound to fail. A new movement had to be based on self-confidence. He had studied the example of Sinn Fein and their Passive Resistance and produced his own programme of action. It was published in his weekly paper New India and in the daily Vande Mataram. In short this is what Pal said:

> *"Time has now come to say good bye to the British. The question no longer is whether you should partition Bengal or not; or whether you should make some administrative reforms for our benefit or not. We want the right to administer ourselves. We want Autonomy. We know that you are not willing to accede to our demands. We will no longer beg favours from you. We have to make it impossible for you to govern. And therefore we will resort to Passive Resistance."*

Afterwards, Bipinbabu had outlined his programme on the same lines as proposed by Shyamji. The only exception was of the armed revolutionaries. They laughed at the 'invincible weapon' of Passive Resistance. However, until then no political leader or newspaper had set such clear cut, uncompromising forward looking aim. After the partition of Bengal, next to Surendranath, Bipinchandra Pal impressed Indian youth with his speeches and writings. Now, let us return to Shyamji's work in London.

Naturally, he wished that all leaders in India should support his demand for Home Rule and start a programme of general dissociation from the British. But not only the Moderates, even the Militants shied away and did not come forward for opening a

branch of Home Rule movement. The only exception being that of Bipinchandra Pal, who had pioneered the idea. But he did not have any organisation behind him. Even, in later life, he was not an organiser. The only person who had that skill was the militant leader Tilak. Shyamji had started to correspond with Tilak and informed him of his political movement. Tilak, in his paper Kesari, published details of Shyamji's Home Rule movement in London and wrote an article expounding Shyamji's programme without in any way suggesting his support. In a letter dated 14 July 1905, Tilak explained to Shyamji why he could not undertake Home Rule movement at present. He said, "I wished that you had more active members in London. Then lot more could be achieved. I congratulate you for the work you are carrying out with self-sacrifice. Unfortunately I still cannot come to London. Moreover, it is impossible that we in India will enjoy the freedom of thought, expression and propagation that you find in England.

But Dadabhai was already Talking of Self Government in 1904

Shyamji started his Indian Home Rule society in 1905. But Dadabhai was also demanding Self Government for India through his lectures. In India the atmosphere was charged on account of the arrogant and autocratic rule of Lord Curzon (1898-1905). Dadabhai must have been delighted by the increased public awareness. He would have hoped for reaching the next goal. In 1904 a deputation of Congress under leadership of Gokhale was sent to London for explaining to the British public the growing unrest in India due to the arrogant attitude of Lord Curzon. Lala Lajpat Rai was also a member of the deputation. They delivered lectures at various towns and cities in England. On this occasion, Dadabhai had said, "Time has passed for making administrative reforms here and there, in India. It is in the interest of both Britain and India that like Australia and Canada, India should also be granted Self-Government." Gokhale also said that Self Government for India within the British Empire is our political aspiration. Lala Lajpat Rai was even more forward looking. He was present at the inauguration of the India House. Not only that, he was the first paying guest there and he used to state this proudly. Anglo-Indian members of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress. Like Sir Cotton and Wedderburn became furious at

such demands of Dadabhai and Gokhale. They said that when even the Congress party itself has not been sponsoring 'Self - Government' why are you proposing the same when you are on delegation from the Congress? Moreover, why are you maintaining contacts with Shyamji who is working against Congress? Dadabhai and Gokhale made their excuses but Lala Lajpat Rai bluntly replied, "I came as a member of the deputation, because I was asked. But that does not mean I have no independent opinion of my own. I will abide by my conscience. If need be, I will resign from the deputation."

Why the Word 'Home Rule' was not Used?

It may sound strange that though Dadabhai implied nothing different from Shyamji's 'Home Rule' he declined to use the word 'Home Rule'. Why? Bipinbabu's 'Autonomy', Shyamji's 'Home Rule' or Dadabhai's 'Self Government', all meant the same, namely, internal freedom to rule within the British Empire.

Still most Indian leaders were scared to use the word 'Home Rule'. The reason was simple. The British had experienced enough trouble with Irish Home Rule movement and activities of those Irishmen. Some Irish were elected as M. Ps to British Parliament. They tried all kinds of tactics of obstructions in British Parliament to achieve their aims. Some even came to physical blows and skirmishes. The British had started to say, " Oh, give them Home Rule." That was not out of love or affection, but out of utter despair. Therefore Congress leaders did not want to show any similarity between their own movement and that of the Irish. Otherwise they thought that the British will be angry with them and would not accede to our demands. And British sympathy was their trump card. Therefore Dadabhai did not support the demand for Home Rule by Shyamji.

Time Seeks Revenge

As discussed above, for various reasons, neither the Militants like Tilak nor the Moderates such as Dadabhai supported Shyamji's demand for Home Rule for India in 1905. But the funny thing was that, just nine to ten years later, there was competition between Tilak and Dadabhai to demand 'Home Rule' for India. In 1915, Anne Bessant started her Home Rule movement and Dadabhai became its President, while the Nationalists also started Home Rule League* with Tilak as its President.

Thus, in a funny way, Time sought its revenge. If Shyamji had said, " Others come around to my viewpoint some ten to fifteen years later. It will take them another ten to fifteen years to understand my policies of today. I pioneered the Home Rule movement in 1905, therefore Congress leaders now feel safe to demand the same today." He would have been fully justified.

The programme of Passive Resistance put forward by Shyamji and Bipinbabu was taken up by Gandhi in 1920 and given the name of 'Non violent non-cooperation'. Gandhi behaved as if he had thought of the programme himself. And he even promised Swaraj within one year.

Looking back, let us remember that those Indians who were tired of and fed up with the activities of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and London Indian Society, now joined Shyamji's Indian Home Rule Society and thus within a year those two societies faded away.

Barrister Sardarsingh Rana

One of the prominent members of Shyamji's Home Rule society was Barrister Sardarsingh Rana. He was born in Kathiawad (Gujarat) in the family of a Maharaja. In 1898, he came to London to become a Barrister. He wanted to take part in politics. So, he joined as a life member of London Indian Society. He also started to take part in the British Committee of Indian National congress. He became acquainted with Shyamji. Later, he started his business dealing with diamonds and precious stones in Paris. He used to look after his business and visit London from time to time. He became interested in Shyamji's Home Rule movement and accepted the position of its Vice Presidency and took part in the activities of the society.

In December 1905, his letter was published in The Indian Sociologist. He declared his intention to offer three scholarships of Rs 2,000 each on the same conditions as Shyamji. One was in the name of Maharana Pratap, one in the name of Shivaji, yet one more was in the name of a Muslim benefactor. In his letter he said, "For completing my studies in England some Indian friends had

offered financial help. Now it is my turn to do the same for my other countrymen." The Shivaji Scholarship of Rana was offered to me. I was recommended by Tilak, editor of the paper Kesari and Mr Paranjape, editor of the paper Kal. I was supported by the blessing and financial help of Maharaja of Javhar. This will be fully explained in the next part-My life in Poona/ Bombay.

End of Dadabhai's Parliamentary Front (1906)

Elections to the British Parliament were held in January 1906. As discussed before, Dadabhai had realised that not much could be achieved through British Parliament even as an M.P. Still at the age of 80 he again stood for election on ticket of the Liberal Party. There were many even among the Liberal voters who were saying that they should not vote for Dadabhai. They had enough nuisance from the Irish M. Ps and did not want to add to their woos by voting for a black man. Dadabhai was defeated. Indians in London had spent large amount of money and most had supported Dadabhai, irrespective of their personal opinions. It was astonishing that the Liberal party won the election. Mr Morley was elected; even Sir Henry Cotton got elected as an M.P (from Nottingham). The exception was that of Dadabhai.

Both factions of Indians in England felt sorry at the defeat of Dadabhai and expressed their feelings in public meetings. Shyamji however, was delighted. He declared that it was not the question of an individual. It showed how the Indian leaders were misguided. That was the main benefit. He wrote,

> *"Recently, Indian hopeful candidates had spent at least 1.5 to 2 million rupees during last twenty years. What a waste! With the same amount of money hundreds of Indians could have been sent for further education in Europe and America and would have received training in Scientific, Technical and Mechanical skills. Or the money could have been spent on some useful national purpose."*

Morley becomes Secretary of State for India

But despite the defeat of Dadabhai came a startling news that the New Liberal Government had appointed Mr Morley as Secretary of State for India. He considered himself to be a disciple

of philosophers Spencer and Mill. He had written treaties on liberalism. He had condemned the repressive policies of the Conservative government. Indian leaders therefore forgot the sorrow of defeat of Dadabhai and held new hopes. They thought this was the opportunity of getting their aspirations fulfilled. They dreamed that Indians would be appointed to positions of high authority, injustices like the partition of Bengal will be removed. However, the militants kept on increasing their agitation. They were determined to continue with their activities of Swadeshi, Boycott of English goods, National education etc., until their demands were met. People were following the trio-Lal / Bal / Pal. Lal means Lala Lajpat Rai of Punjab, Bal means Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra and Pal means Bipinchandra Pal of Bengal.

The revolutionaries were least worried and could not care less whether Morley came or went. They wanted to expand their organisation. In 1905-06 my secret revolutionary society The Abhinav Bharat spread quickly in Maharashtra and had branches even in Bengal and Punjab. Mr Arvind Ghosh and Barrister P. Mitra were its leaders. They ran papers like Yugantar. Work of Revolutionary organisation Anushilan Samiti is well known. These are briefly mentioned here as a background.

First Annual Meeting of Home Rule Society

Shyamji, in his paper Indian Sociologist criticised the Indian Moderates for holding high hopes from Mr Morley becoming Secretary of State for India. The first annual meeting of their Home Rule Society was held on 24 February 1906. They said that it is absurd to say-good men like Mr Morley or bad men like Lord Curzon. The British rulers are all the same. They may come or go. We are not going to get Home Rule by making petitions to them but only by following a programme of Passive Resistance.

Surendranath Banerjee is Arrested and Fined (1906)

It soon became apparent that the militants were fully justified in their criticism of the moderates. Very soon after Mr Morley assumed the office of Secretary of State for India, there was a spate of arrests in Bengal. Singing of Vande Mataram was banned. On 14 April 1906 Surendranath Banerjee led a huge public procession against that ban in Barisal (now in Bangladesh). He was arrested

and heavily fined. The meeting was dispersed brutally by the police. This incidence showed how justified was the criticism by the militants of the hopes of moderates. It was surprising that Banerjee was a Moderate and Loyal to British Crown. He said so openly on many occasions. He was elected a President of the Congress twice in the past. So, really the British Committee of the Congress should have arranged a protest meeting in London. But the Indian moderates still felt that since Mr Morley had become Secretary of State for India, Indians were bound to be appointed to high posts. Hence, even Dadabhai did not join in such a protest. He and others hoped that if any high posts were given to Indians they were bound to go to Loyal Moderate Indians and not to Militants like Tilak. With this hope the Moderates did not raise their voice against the arrest of Banerjee.

Shyamji's Home Rule Society, however organised a public protest meeting on 4 May 1906. Shyamji was in the chair. Most Indians attended. Among them were, Vitthalbhai Patel and Bhai Paramanand. Shyamji said that not only the British Committee did not organise such a protest meeting, but also even after invitation, Dadabhai and Gokhale were not present at this meeting.

First Meeting of Indians in Paris: Beginning of India's role in International Politics

On 5 May, in Paris, a similar protest meeting was organised by Barrister Rana and Mr Godrej. Many Indians attended and there were strong condemnations of the Police action in Barisal. This meeting was important. Until this time, the Congress Party used to look after politics in Britain. But they regarded the British Empire as 'their own empire'. They considered it disgraceful to raise voice against the British Raj, in Europe, which would be something un-becoming of 'Loyal' subjects. They felt that such actions would draw wrath of the British rulers. Therefore grievances of Indians against the British were never publicised in Europe. But the members of the Indian Home Rule movement in London had no such qualms. They were not controlled by Anglo-Indians and therefore established contacts with opponents of the British Raj and also with other European nations. They openly sided with the members of the Irish Home Rule movement and members of Social Democrats like Mr Hyndman. The protest

meeting in Paris was a great step forward. Though it was held by the Home Rulers, Paris soon became a centre of propaganda of Indian revolutionaries for next ten to fifteen years. Persons like Barrister Rana, Shyamji, Madam Cama and Lala Hardayal worked from here. Only when the First World War broke out in 1914 and France and Britain became allies that the Indian revolutionaries had to move to Berlin. My connection with Paris will be dealt with later.

In those days most Indians staying in Paris were merchants. Among them those who were dealing with diamonds and precious stones were rich. They stood aloof from the politics of the Congress. However, as Barrister Rana and Madam Cama became active in Paris, they enlightened the Indian merchants. I met Cama later in London. Let me introduce her.

Indian Youth in Britain at that Time

Earlier, I had given my reason for coming to London, where selected youth from various provinces of India would come. They were intelligent, rich and well educated. They were hoping to achieve high posts in the ICS or IMS or become barristers. It was very easy to contact them. The meetings could be held frequently. I wanted to spread the fire of fight for freedom struggle among them and also draw them to the side of revolutionaries. At least, they could hold sympathy for the revolutionaries. When they returned to India they would become Barristers, Doctors, Editors, Magistrates, Collectors and some may even become Military officers. If I drew them to my side, they would be useful in future freedom struggle. Let us see the mental attitude and character of Indian students in London at that time: Invariably they were opposed to my efforts.

I do not know how many Indian students were there in Britain at that time, but it was probably 2,000. Ninety percent of them stood aloof from politics scrupulously. During their upbringing they had never received any lessons in patriotism nor were their aspirations raised any higher than serving the British Raj (and becoming WOGs-Westernised Oriental Gentleman). Moreover they were scattered as per their location of colleges or convenience of residence. They were in groups of four to ten.

There were fair number in Oxford, Cambridge, Manchester and Edinburgh, but majority were in London and its suburbs. There were no functions designed to bring them together and give them a kind of awakening, if not political at least social or cultural. Moreover, many came from rich families-Rajas and Maharajas, Landlords, Divans or Sirdars. They were brought up as English from childhood and taught to be loyal to the British Crown. Many were entrusted to white nannies since childhood and when they reached the age of fourteen they would be sent to schools like Harrow and kept in some English families during the period of their education. Those youth would even speak in English among themselves and would proudly say that they forgot their mother tongue-be it Bengali, Punjabi or any other. They tried to learn English music. They would join dancing clubs and would be happy if they got a chance to dance even with street girls. Many were married, but they were afraid that English men and women would laugh at marrying so young and therefore declared that they were not married.

They would try to outdo British youth in frivolity. They would wear expensive shoes and clothes to surpass rich British youth. They would wear new suits every day. Instead of staying in hostels, they would prefer to stay in some British families even though it was expensive. They got attracted to the system of 'paying guests.' This was nothing better than a roadside inn. In general, British families were reluctant to allow Indians to stay with them. However, some poor British families found it convenient to provide accommodation for Indian students. Later, they found that it was financially very rewarding to keep Indians as 'paying guests.'

The reason was simple. Indian students were over the moon when they entered the house of a white family. They thought highly of the opportunity of sitting, drinking and dining with white families. So much so that they were prepared to pay high price for such a privilege. They would present expensive cigarettes and wines to their host families. Their only desire was that by so doing they should be accepted in the British society. But no matter what they did, they could not change their colour. Even if they wore top hats and tailcoats, they would be despised as Blackie, Nigger or Native, whether in dancing floors, theatres or teashops. The pity was that they felt no shame and their self-respect would not be aroused.

I accept that the above description does not apply to every Indian student but to a particular class. I would have considered it inappropriate to mention the above behaviour, if only a few Indian students were behaving that way. But there was a class who were devoid of self-respect and acted frivolously. Their behaviour was based on accepting slavery and therefore despicable. They were ashamed of our culture, civilisation, customs and traditions and considered them useless. They were brought up that way by their parents. When they came to England, they were further mesmerised. They were impressed by English language, literature and English way of life. They considered the English as divine. Let us consider a specific case. The person is not a modern Hindu but a Muslim. His name is Sayyad Ahmad. He founded the Aligad Movement and asked Muslims to be slaves of the English forever. When he lived in England in late nineteenth century he wrote a letter to his friends describing life in England at that time. In a letter of 1869 he wrote:

> *"The English have reasons to believe that we in India are imbecile brutes. What I have seen and daily seeing is utterly beyond imagination of a native in India. All good things, spiritual and worldly which should be found in man have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe and especially on the English." (Ref -Nehru's Autobiography page 461).*

Above letter of Sayyad Ahmad would suffice to show how mentally degenerated and devoid of any self-respect, Indians had become. I have already illustrated this point by quoting experiences of Indians from the early days of Dadabhai Naoroji till I reached London in 1906.

Gandhi came to London to study Law in 1888. His behaviour was no different to that described above. He too tried to use Top Hat, Tail Coat and expensive ties. Many other Indians have described their experiences in a similar manner.

Motilal Nehru, like father of Arvind Ghosh too, was impressed by the British Raj. He sent his son Jawaharlal to England in his

young age, who stayed in English hostels and so anglicised he had become that after studying in Cambridge University and becoming a Barrister in 1912 he paid no attention to Indian Politics which was taking shape in Europe.

Anyone can verify my statements by referring to autobiographies of Gandhi, Nehru, Charudatta, and others. When the British called Indians as Brutes, instead of becoming furious, Indians would react-"Oh yes sir. We are indeed so and that is why, by divine dispensation, the British Raj has been established over us." I was trying to sow seeds of armed revolution to overthrow the British rule in India. The readers can imagine how difficult, well nigh impossible was my task. I was determined.

I had not despaired. Our youth were not useless. They were after all our kith and kin. Their blood had not been boiling at the though of slavery, but we could not say that they had no blood. Many were brilliant scholars. Their personal (if not national) ambitions were high. They achieved excellent academic results in British Universities, much higher than British students. Some were even selected to ICS or IMS services. It is true that because of their upbringing they had developed slavish mentality. But the other reason was that no one had set them higher values-those of our society, our nation. No one had challenged them. No one had told them that the fight for freedom was far more satisfying and challenging. Nobody had taught them that it is a sin to live under slavery and it is our moral duty to overthrow the British Raj. Nobody had shown them the light.

One must remember that even persons like Dadabhai, Surendranath Banerjee, Bipinchandra Pal, Shyamji and Lala Lajpat Rai had not shown any interest in politics till late thirties of their life. Even then, they too believed that the British Raj was a 'divine dispensation'. But in the course of time they changed. So, if we tried who knows that at least some of the Indian students, who are at present self- centred, and disinterested in politics, will turn to be revolutionaries!

Moreover these youth came from middle and rich classes and had the necessary resources. The whole of India looked to them for inspiration. If some of them could be persuaded to join our side, that was as good as hundred youth from poor families

joining us. This was experience in practice. A Prince, a Collector could become our sympathetic member and help in many ways. For example, by providing finances, by providing 'safe refuges', by turning a blind eye to revolutionary activities, and in some cases, by even providing arms. I have described the mental attitude of majority of Indian students in London. But I had to propagate my views among them too. We lacked revolvers and bombs-which could be purchased, but how could we buy young men to do our work? It was therefore necessary to try to persuade Indian youth to join our side.

Thirdly, just as the Indian students were devoid of self respect, I had met many priests and Gurus who were even more coward, more devoid of self respect, more selfish, and regarded the British King as reincarnation of Lord Vishnu!!

I had met many of them in India. If I could change their minds by arguing with them, why would I not succeed in London with a similar mission? As a doctor I knew the physical handicaps and also the remedies. I knew the arguments of those who were lethargic and also the answers to be given to them. I was therefore determined to try my persuasion in London. Exception of ten percent.

I have described the majority of Indian students. But there were exceptions of those who were not carried away by British pomp and who were patriots with self-respect.

The youth from Indian rich class had become useless by their upbringing; the lower class was too weak politically. The exception was the middle class youth. They were to become our backbone. They were prepared to make any sacrifice needed. Those who had shone in the Indian freedom struggle right from 1857 to 1947 came from this section. There was political uprising and awakening in India since 1903 and during the national agitation during 1903 to 1906 it was the middle classes who took most action. They took part in activities such as Swadeshi and boycott of British goods. Such youth were patriots, militants but not revolutionaries. In England they showed restraint, did pay attention to their studies and were prepared to learn what improvements needed to be carried out in India. But they maintained their dignity and would not tolerate any insults to our nation.

It was therefore possible to sow seeds of armed revolution among this class. There were also some elderly men of the 'home rule movement' who proved to be sympathetic to our cause.

In short.

So far I have reviewed how Indian politics developed since 1857. It is clear that before I reached London in July 1906, there were three main associations working. First two emphasised loyalty to the British Crown-namely British Committee of the Indian National Congress and Dadabhai's London Indian Society. The third one was Shyamji's Indian Home Rule Society. The aim of the last and that of Dadabhai was self rule under the British Empire (it was called by different names, self government, autonomy or home rule). Though there were some differences between them they did not advocate armed revolution to achieve their aims.

But they were not fanatical supporters of nonviolence.

It is true that neither Dadabhai nor Shyamji supported an armed revolution. Moderates thought that impracticable, while Shyamji thought it un-necessary. They all believed that Colonial Self Government could be achieved without resorting to an armed struggle. But they never said that independence achieved with armed struggle was sinful. They never accepted the argument that it was immoral to raise arms against the British and that we should never resort to it, even if it meant that we would be slaves forever. No 'Loyal' or anti-British Indian leader ever took such a stand. One may refer to thoughts of Moderate leaders like Phirozshah Mehta or Dinsha Wacha. Not only that, in the annual sessions of the Congress, the Moderates had unanimously demanded that the Arms Act by which Indians were disarmed, should be repealed. This included all the Moderate leaders from Dadabhai, Sudendranath, Mehta to Gokhale. It had been their unanimous demand. Then what can be said of Militant leaders like Tilak and Shyamji who worshipped Lord Rama and Shivaji and revered freedom fighters like Mazzini!!

Militants did not support an armed revolution because they thought that our position was helpless, as we had no arms and therefore armed revolution was not feasible, not because it was

immoral. Congress became fanatically obsessed with nonviolence only some fifteen years later, in the days of Gandhi.* Before that they were not unduly concerned with nonviolence.

** One should remember that the same followers of Gandhi however, supported armed struggle of Africans in Rhodesia, which started in the late 1960s. Not one of the followers preached nonviolence to the Africans.*

Armed Revolutionaries Demanding Complete Independence did not Exist

When I reached London, the Indian political movement reached as far as demanding self-rule within the British Empire. But there was no party to demand 'Absolute Political Independence' and to achieve it with an armed struggle, as there was no other way. In India, the Abhinav Bharat had spread rapidly and extended even to Bengal. But it had no branches in England and America or any other foreign country. The reason being that work of Abhinav Bharat was in secret. It was still busy with its organisation and propagation and had not carried out any public act. Moreover, no preachers had reached those countries. Two youth who had taken oath of armed revolution had come to Britain and France about ten months before me. I met them afterwards.

They were Mr P M Bapat and Mr Hemchandra Das. Bapat had not come to England to spread the revolutionary activities. Mr Das on the other hand was involved in the Maniktola Conspiracy movement in Bengal and had come to London with a specific intention of learning how to make bombs. Both soon joined my society the Abhinav Bharat.

Arvindbabu Ghose

Arvindbabu's rich brother was so impressed by the English that he wished to bring up his son as an Englishman since childhood. It was also the desire of many other Indians, for example Motilal Nehru. Thus, Arvindbabu was brought up in English atmosphere since childhood and went to London to study for the ICS examination. His elder brother was also in London. Having passed the examination however, Arvindbabu failed to pass horse-riding test (1891). His father and elder brother were very angry. But Arvindbabu was terribly upset and gave up any idea of service. It is said that he started a secret organisation called Lotus

and Sword. By sheer luck, Sayajirao, Maharaja of Baroda was in Europe at that time. He had heard about Arvindbabu and offered him a high post in his state. Arvindbabu accepted that offer and that was the end of his secret society.

Charuchandra Dutta

From some recent articles, it seems that a revolutionary organisation was started in London some ten years before me. On 1 August 1952, the paper Maratha of Pune published some extracts from biography of late Mr Charuchandra Dutta. He was born in 1876. When he heard of the events of 1857 war, he felt that he too should try such an adventure. One Mr Vishwas, an adventurous Bengali had gone to Brazil and become a high-ranking officer in its army. Mr Dutta wanted to contact Mr Vishwas and then try an armed revolution in India. But he was young and had to study for the ICS examination at the insistence of his father.

He went to England for appearing in the examination in 1896. Even then, from London, he wanted to escape to Brazil. Unfortunately Mr Vishwas died in Brazil. Mr Dutta found that Military Colleges at Sandhurst and Woolwich forbade entry of Indians. So, he concentrated on his studies. But he was having dreams of an armed revolution and met Irish revolutionary Michael David, and Scottish leader Mr Hyndman. Both encouraged an armed revolution. But when he went to see Dadabhai, he advised not to follow disreputable people like David and Hyndman.

When he went to see Dadabhai again with his revolutionary schemes, Dadabhai told him, "I have no time boys to waste. Go away." Mr Dutta's memoirs over next 20 lines do not make sense. The names, events and dates are incorrect. There seems to be only one sensible piece of information. In 1897, he read that the Chaphekar brothers had shot and killed Mr Rand and Lt Ayhurst. Inspired by this, five Indian youth and Mr Dutta took an oath, "We shall never rest till we have freed India from the thraldom of Britain." But this was their first and last meeting. The six never met again. Mr Dutta was selected for the ICS and joined service in 1900. It is said that despite his high position, Mr Dutta took part in activities of Arvind Ghosh's Yugantar movement. But all those activities took place in India, and therefore irrelevant for the

purpose of this book. I just mention one mistake in Mr Dutta's memoirs.

He writes, "Little dynamic groups (of revolutionaries) were springing up all over the country, who made their own plans and carried them out. Their local leaders, men like Chindabaram of Tutikorin and Babu Khare of Nasik decided on their own lines of work. I remember that in 1908 an emissary of Babu Khare came to me in Ahmedabad and pressed me to supply them with a couple of revolvers from Calcutta. Vinayak Savarkar, a follower of Khare had promised to send them weapons from Europe, but had so far failed to do so. It may be mentioned here that Savarkar did send later on, some Browning Automatic Pistols. With one of them, Kanhere, a young Brahmin, shot Jackson, the District Magistrate of Nasik." Here, despite going away from the main theme, I would like to mention how deep- rooted 'Loyalty to the British Crown' was ingrained in him. Khare was nearly 20 years older than me. When we met in Nasik I showed him some of my compositions. One of these stated that a thief who had entered in our house is being regarded as a King.

Khare was a patriot, but 'Loyal'. He said, "Mr Savarkar, I agree with all that you have said, but I will not tolerate disloyalty to British King or Queen. Haven't you heard-Na Vishnuhu Pritivipati. How dare you say our Sovereign is a thief? You can say that the British bureaucrats are thieves, but the King is like the reincarnation of Lord Vishnu." I had met hundreds of such foolhardy people in India. So, I had to arrange a lecture under the chairmanship of Mr S M Paranjape (editor of paper Kal) to explain the meaning of the phrase-Na Vishnuhu Prithivipati. [Vishnu is the Lord of the world and king is considered as his incarnation].

Khare changed his mind after a lot of effort by me and especially by my elder brother. Later, he became a strong supporter of our movement. Though I cannot give details of his sufferings, as that would be out of place, I recommend readers to study biography of my elder brother Babarao by Mr D N Gokhale and Dr V M Bhat's book Abhinav Bharat (published in 1950).

I just mention that Khare suffered terribly at the hands of the British Administrators. He lost all his property and died of torture

in prison. That was tragic indeed. But he faced death with dignity. Finally. I state that before my arrival in London there was no trace of any revolutionary movement in England, even in secret.

** Now, Chindabaram Pillai did not belong to a small group but to The Abhinav Bharat. At the time of Surat session of Congress (1907), he became a member of Abhinav Bharat and established its branch in Tutikorin.*

** The name Babu Khare is wrong (it implies that he was a Bengali). It should be Babasaheb Khare.*

** Thirdly, I was not a follower of Babasaheb Khare. Of course I would have gladly been his follower.*

Let us now turn to the British people with whom we had to fight a bloody war, in detail. I give the outline of the situation at that time.

In those days, the British public was firmly of the opinion that Britain must continue to rule over India. There were several reasons for this.

British people, from the Buckingham Palace to huts in villages, were aware of the enormous flow of wealth from India to Britain. Thousands of men were recruited into British Army, Navy and reserve forces. Workers in British factories knew that British Rule had forced India to become a supplier of raw materials and importer of British goods. The livelihood of these workers depended on this situation continuing. Apart from the farmers, workers and merchants, British administrators from Viceroy downwards got their salaries from the Indian exchequer and even after retirement their pensions were also paid in pounds by Indian treasury.

Thus, continuing rule of the British over India was a question of daily bread for hundreds of thousands of men and women. Therefore they all supported the British Raj.

Peak of British Empire

British Empire reached its peak towards the end of 19th century. No other empire in the history of mankind compared with the British Empire in the extent, wealth, discipline or control. Sun does not set on the British Empire-we may not like it but that was the reality. They had borrowed the phrase from the Spanish

whom they defeated in 1588 in the days of Queen Elizabeth I. They ruled over the countries that the Caesar had not heard of. Enormous amount of wealth was flowing into London from all parts of the world. British Army had proved to be invincible on land. Britain was mistress of all the seas. It was said-Napoleon could do everything but cross the English Channel.

Britain had gone through the stages of amalgamation of its various sections (tribes) into becoming a powerful nation. There had been many wars between England, Scotland and Wales. There had been religious wars too. There were wars between feudal power and King's power then, between feudal power and people's power in Britain.

On the other hand, Germany, Russia and other European countries were going through those stages of formation of a nation. Britain had been far advanced and could concentrate on becoming a world Power. Every citizen of Britain was well aware of this status and they considered it essential to hold down India by force of arms to maintain that world power status.

There was one more cunning twist. British politicians wanted to brainwash its people into thinking that looting wealth from India was not a sin, but a duty. From school children to Parliament, they had been told that they were ruling India for its own benefit. They offered peace and stability to the millions affected by poverty and famine. Instead of saying that they had imposed their rule, they propagated the view that Indians have willingly invited the British to rule over them.

If we read British papers or books on the subject, one would find this line of thinking clearly evident. The British people too were so carried away by this propaganda that they sincerely believed in it. If a Herbert Spencer or Hyndman were to expose the British exploitation of India, he would be regarded as an eccentric or despised as an anti-national.

What was worse was that every church, every missionary who set foot on Indian soil had been preaching that the British must rule India for the benefit of Indians themselves-material and spiritual. Those pagans who worship stones were sinners who must be taught the truth of the Bible and spread its message.

Christianity must have a firm hold on India for the stability of the British Empire. There are plenty of extracts to support this, let just take two:

> ** When the East India Company got control of whole of India, Mr Maugles, one of its Directors gave evidence to House of Commons and explained the Company's policy of rule in India. He said, ".. Providence has entrusted the extensive empire of India to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other. Everyone must exert all his strength that there may be no idolatrousness on any account in continuing the grand work of making all India Christ."*
>
> ** Now let us see what Reverend Kennedy said in 1856:*
>
> *".. Whatever misfortunes come on us, as long as our empire in India continued, our chief work is the propagation of Christianity in the land. Until Hindusthan from Cape Camorin to the Himalayas embraces the religion of Christ, we must use all power and all the authority in our hands until India becomes a magnificent nation, the bulwark of Christianity in the East."*

Letters of Prof. Maxmuller and Macaulay whom our people had regarded as liberals had the same dreams. This is evident from their letters recently published. For further details, readers should refer to my book

Indian War of Independence 1857-chapter entitled Adding fuel to fire.

One must stress that the Christianity here was not the one of 'turning the other cheek, but the ' Christianity' to stabilise British power. When the British went around the world to conquer, they had Rifle in one hand and the Bible in the other. They knew from experience that a Hindu once forced to become a Christian, becomes lost to Hinduism forever. His progeny too automatically become Christian. They in turn became enemies of Hinduism and supporters of the British rule in India. They considered the British Raj as their own.

The position of the British people was like the drunken monkey. They would send its representatives to the House of Commons, only those who would keep a firm grip on British power in India.

It was the British Parliament thus elected by British people who would be responsible for sending administrators to India from Viceroy to Collectors. These administrators (ruling class) were called-Anglo-Indians. They were not independent, but mere puppets of the British people. If any one of them had behaved in a way not liked by the British people, they would have insisted on sacking of such officers-even Viceroys. If need be, they would have even toppled their own government. When examples of repression, torture, and injustice in India were known, the British people showed no concern. They always honoured barbarians like Robert Clive, Dalhousie, Canning or Curzon. Thus, in reality, the British people and the Anglo-Indian ruling class in India were no different. Lord Curzon had declared on many occasions in 1904-05, "We will not relinquish our power to the last drop of our blood." And he dismissed the Queen's declaration of 1858, which the Congress leaders worshiped, as 'an impossible charter.' Though the words were spoken by Curzon, they reflected the thinking of the British people.

> *(Notes-1 Times (of London) says on 18 February 1930, page xi, col A, "Up to 1909 or so there was no doubt what sort of Government India had….. Constitutionally speaking, the supreme power rested with the electors of this country, who made and unmade Ministries, and therefore called the Secretary of State for India and the whole Cabinet to account if unacceptable things were done in India."-That is exactly what Savarkar was saying in 1906. 2 One should remember that statue of General Havelock, who was involved in barbaric suppression of Indians during the 1857-59 uprising in India, was erected in London, Trafalgar Square in 1861, by public subscription. 3.Savarkar's views were also fully justified by what happened at the time of Jalianwala Bagh massacre in 1919. Readers of The Morning Post (London) collected funds totalling £20,000 and honoured Brigadier General Dyer with a sword publicly!)*

That was the stark reality of life, which was understood by the Indian revolutionaries. The reality was frightening. We were insignificant as compared to the mighty British Power. We were convinced that it was cowardice NOT to accept the facts. It was suicidal and self- deception to deny them. May be because the situation was so fearful, that Moderate leaders from Dadabhai to

Gokhale had conveniently deluded themselves in the following terms:

> *"The British people are just and honourable. They do detest injustice and the suppression practised by the imperial administration and are therefore not responsible for the suppression in India."*

The Moderates therefore, attempted to convince the British people of the real situation in India. We have already seen how futile their efforts were.

For the purpose of this chapter, I need to add a few words. Though I have criticised the methods and efforts of the moderate leaders, as individuals, I held them with deep respect for their patriotism and service to our nation. Our criticism was of their ways and NOT of personalities. They however, always cursed the revolutionaries, but we never did the same to them.

The same comments apply to the activities and methods of Bipinchandra Pal and Shyamji who preached non-cooperation. It is true that they did not believe that the British People were innocent and just, and that something practical must be done which will force the British rulers to take note of demands of Indians. However, they insisted that the methods of resistance MUST be nonviolent! They believed that the British people would not tolerate any use of force against un-armed protesters; they would not allow any illegitimate or unlawful means to be adopted against Indian agitators. Shyamji's writings fully support this belief of his. In other words, even the most militants depended on the British people being just and believing in rule of law!! It was still 'loyalty to the British' but in a different way.

In reality, the British rulers were never ashamed of or hesitant to or incapable of resorting to use of force. Their rule was based on the Bayonet. We revolutionaries were fully convinced of it. We supported all the efforts of the militants and had extremely friendly and warm relations with all the leaders (Moderates and Militants). We only criticised their false hopes. That is all.

We fully co-operated with the Militants in their activities such as Swadeshi and our relations were like those between Guru and Disciples.

Only the Revolutionaries were Aware of the Military Might of the British

In the Indian politics of those days (*i.e.* 1906) there were two factions, the Moderates and the Militants. The first one wanted to appeal to the better nature of the British, while the second felt that Passive Resistance would achieve their aim. Neither party therefore was much concerned about the military strength of the British. Large volumes of lectures and articles by leaders from Dadabhai Naoroji to Bipin Chandra Pal are available. But, even for a curiosity, there is no mention of any doubt, ' what if, the British use their military might?' They were determined that there should be no secrecy in their movement. Military strength of the British was never considered a factor in their programme.

Revolutionaries, on the other hand, had to start with an armed struggle. Their leaders, if not each follower, had to consider the military strength of the British. They had no choice. They were not only aware of that strength; they were also concerned about it. Because it was they who were going to fall victims to the bullets and bayonets of the British. They were going to the gallows. It was their households, which were going to be utterly destroyed by the British. There was no way they could ignore or underestimate the military strength of the British.

The Moderates tried armchair politics and considered it to be appropriate and honourable. Militants went as far as Passive Resistance. Moderates and even some militants attacked the Revolutionaries in scathing terms.

Their attacks were more acrimonious than attacks in the British Newspapers. In their public utterances and private conversations they said, ' How are these handful of youngsters going to achieve independence? They are fools. Do they have the faintest idea of how powerful the British are? Do they really think that the British will be scared with few sticks and revolvers and run away? If the British wish, they can blast off the whole country with guns.'

Referring to the revolutionaries openly they would say, " You will totally ruin your lives, and you may even go to the gallows!! You consider us Moderates as mild. Just you wait. Once you are flogged, you will lick the boots of the English. If you really want

to serve the country, follow our path." The Moderates therefore said that we (the revolutionaries) should follow their suit.

Militants said that we (Indians) should practise nonviolent non-cooperation. The British, the Moderates and even the Militant newspapers always cursed us and called us ' of perverted minds, murderers, terrorists, fanatics.'

But, these remarks merely proved that our critics were ignorant of the fact that the revolutionaries were NOT unaware of the might of the British. And who told them that the revolutionaries believed that the British could be driven out of India with a handful of revolvers? The funny thing was that if the English were capable of blasting off the whole country with guns, would they pay any attention to the prayers and petitions of the Moderates? Would they pack their guns and leave India by the mere declaration of non cooperation? One must therefore conclude that only the Revolutionaries were acutely aware of the British character and their formidable military strength.

"Speaking for myself, I can vouch that I never dismissed strength of the British. Right from the start, whenever I administered the oath of Abhinav Bharat, I used to make the newcomers aware of what sacrifices they would have to make."

"I made it clear to them that they would have to forego their houses, property, pleasures of life, reputation, affections of the beloved and even face death. From the days of Mitra Mela in Nasik (in India) to our weekly meetings in London, while discussing the histories of revolutionaries of many countries, I used to emphasise this point."

Even before leaving for London, I preached to my friends, 'Any nation who set out to establish a world empire needs certain qualities. The British do have the necessary attributes. Of course, they are brave. They are also cruel and deceptive. It is not for nothing that they have established an empire over us. I say to you, time and again, that their Military power is their Bible. And also no one can match their craftiness today. Therefore they are administering their rule over this huge country systematically like clockwork.' 'The trained officers who come from Britain (members of the elite Indian Civil Service) know every minute detail about us, our geography, our languages, castes, history and other characters. From the office of the Governor General's Council to the office of the village chief they are functioning like a clock with eternal vigilance. First, they defeated us on the battlefields and the name of 'Sahib' has created fear in our hearts. And now they are ruling over us by their intellectual power through their specially trained staff (the Indian Civil Service) and Indian assistants as if it the whole thing is a perfectly working machine.'

For this important reason, the British people were least interested in how India was administered. All that they wanted to know was that it was being run firmly and without any risk. They were least interested in whether Indians faced injustice, or starvation. They were least bothered if the British administrators were harsh or liberal. They were more interested in cricket matches or industrial accidents than the annual sessions of the Indian National Congress or severe famines in India. If at all they were worried it was because of some revolutionary outbreak, be it by Phadake (1879) or Chaphekar (1897).

The Story of Agamya Guru

There is some element of truth even in the twisted facts. The same applies to Rowlatt Committee Report and the report of Mr. Montgomery. There was one Mahatma Shree Agamya Guru Paramhansa. He came to Poona in 1906. In the beginning he delivered lectures that would suit the Militants. He used to say, "Those who wish to carry out some patriotic work in an organized way, should see me."

When one calls himself a Mahatma or a Swami, he invariably gathers some followers. He even talked like a Militant. So students started to go to him with expectations. Some members of Abhinav Bharat also joined them to see, if the person had some verifiable qualities. But the Guru always kept quiet about any political activities. He always insisted on the students to collect some funds, appoint a committee and send their leader to him. Then he would guide the student's leader. Having created a mystery around him, some students were carried away.

They pleaded with my friends and asked them to send me a telegram, which they did. Accordingly I came from Bombay to

Poona. Until that time, I had not heard of Agamya Guru. Students of schools and colleges decided to have a meeting. Accordingly a big gathering was arranged on 23 February 1906. I talked about organizing the youth for obtaining our freedom. This is the meeting Mr. Montgomery was referring to. Many students suggested that a committee should now be appointed. Accordingly seven members of a committee were selected with me as its leader. I then approached Agamya Guru with members of the committee and asked, "Can you now tell us what plans of action have you got?" But he did not respond properly. At times he spoke about Yoga and Pranayam (breathing exercises), at times he talked about God and religion. I interrupted and asked, " Will you please talk about your programme of action and your guidance for us?"

The Guru said, "What guidance can I give to this group of students? What can you achieve? I told you to collect some funds. Even that you have not done. Go away and collect some money." I realized the true worth of the Guru. Students dispersed. I asked my friends 'why did you send me a telegram?' There are many bogus Gurus. They tremble at the very thought of an armed revolution. I will never see this Agamya Guru again." I do not know what happened to him afterwards. I did not bother.

My contact with the Guru was very short. I would not have mentioned his name in my autobiography. But the Rowlatt Report and the report of Mr. Montgomery had made a mountain out of a mole. After serving eleven years in prison on the Andaman Islands and further three years in Indian jails, I was released in 1924 on the condition that I would live in Ratnagiri. It was at that time that I came across the Rowlatt Report and laughed at it for the above reason.

When I was interned in Ratnagiri, I met Dadarao Karandikar, a follower of Tilak. This is what he said about Agamya Guru. "I met Agamya Guru in London in 1908 and later he was sent to prison for trying to molest an English girl."This information is contained in Mr Karandikar's book 'Letters from England.' He adds, 'I met Agamya Guru after he had served his sentence and that was the end of it.' Had the Guru not met me briefly, his name would have never been mentioned in the British Administration reports.

Other Mistakes: Rowlatt report also contains some more blunders. On page 4 it has been said-"Another paper edited by Chitpawan Brahmins in Poona was the Vihari. Criminal proceedings were successfully taken against three successive editors for seditious articles, which appeared in it, in 1906/07/08 years."

Now, the paper Vihari was published from Bombay not Poona. Its Manager Mr. Phatak was not a Poonaite. Its first editor, who became a member of Abhinav Bharat, was Mr. Chiplunakar. He too was not a Poonaite. I started to write anonymously and that increased the circulation of the Paper. But I too was not a Poonaite. It is astonishing that Rowlatt Report does not know that I was anonymously running the paper. When I went to London, Mr. Phadake became editor of the paper. But he too was not a Poonaite. When he was convicted of sedition, Mr. Mandlik became the editor. But he too was not a Poonaite. When he too was convicted of sedition, the paper was closed. See what the Rowlatt Report has said. None of us was in any way connected with Poona. All that is true is that we were Chitpawan Brahmins. It is astonishing that the Rowlatt report did not know that Mr. Phadake and Mr. Mandlik were members of Abhinav Bharat.

Establishment of Free India Society and Writing of Indian War of Independence 1857

Free India Society

Before leaving for London, I had outlined my possible work there. I had already started the secret society-Abhinav Bharat. In London I started organizing our youth, started to inspire them and convert them to the revolutionary path by individual dialogue. I delivered public speeches. I was busy with writing my books. I was in search of bombs and other explosives and also arranging training for how to use them. I started all such activities. I started Free India Society for works, which could be carried out openly. We will deal with this society later in detail. One of the activities was 'weekly meetings' of Indians. I used to deliver at least one lecture at such meetings and talk about Mazzini-life and mission, heroes of the Indian War of independence 1857 and also discuss what we could do to free our country.

While discussing Mazzini's life I used to emphasise, how he established his secret society-Young Italy, how he induced Italian soldiers employed by Austrian rulers to join in the freedom struggle, how he took help from people of various princely states in Italy to liberate the country. I would stress that we Indians also could do the same.

Many thought an Armed Revolution was Impossible

But most elderly and young men did not accept my thoughts, though based firmly on history. They argued, "How can you compare Italy with Hindusthan? Italy was one of the advanced countries of Europe. Winds of freedom were flowing through the rest of Europe, whose countries were free. The small princely states did have their own small armies, and the Italians did have arms like their rulers, Austria and France. The country was eager to gain independence. Therefore efforts of Mazzini, Garibaldi and others did succeed." Later, those sceptical men would ask-"In contrast to Italy, where are the necessary arms for us to fight? How can we face the rifles and guns of the British? Indian soldiers under the command of the British are illiterate, mercenaries and loyal to the British. They would never rebel against the English. Moreover, the Indian masses are disarmed. So, how can we try an armed revolution in India? Your dream is a mirage. It will never become a reality."

These Indian students who attended our meetings in London were intelligent and selected few. Their line of thinking was the same as mentioned above. Of course, their questions and doubts were not new to me. Whenever I met young and old in India in Nasik, Pune, Bombay or other places, they had reacted in the same way and told me that armed revolution was totally impracticable, impossible, laughable and even suicidal.

I replied firmly-"The arms being borne by Indian soldiers under the British command are our arms. True, our Indian soldiers are illiterate, but they too must have some desire to make our country independent. Spread the fire of movement for freedom among them and see how the same soldiers turn against the English with the same arms and ammunitions!"

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